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MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of municipal institutions, or the importance of wise, honest, and energetic administration of the powers of local government. The exercise of these functions is the best political education for a free people. It gives them experience in public business and in the methods of fair discussion and constitutional progress. It affords an opportunity to every patriotic citizen to be of some service to those amongst whom he lives, and it opens a career of usefulness which may be followed by all who have the ability and the will to distinguish themselves, without relinquishing their ordinary pursuits or leaving the places of their birth.

It is not given to every man to become President of the United States or even Senator or Member of Congress, but there are few indeed who may not look forward to taking some part in the government of their county, their town, or their village, as an object of legitimate ambition. And besides offering a chance of moderate personal distinction, the performance of these duties provides opportunities of philanthropic activity which cannot be found in private benevolence, or in any other description of public work. Local institutions minister more directly to the happiness and well-being of the whole people than even the National Government itself. They are of necessity in closer and more intimate connection with the population; they have to do with their everyday existence, with their family life, with their health and personal security, and with all the thousand details that determine whether existence shall be delightful or intolerable. No doubt the rulers of a nation fill a greater part in the public

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imagination than the leaders of a parish. They cover a larger space, they make more noise, and they excite more interest; but after all, the things that men care for most—their comfort, their health, their lives—depend much more on the action of the despised vestrymen and councillors than on anything that is said or done by the great potentates of the earth.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that the condition and character of its municipal institutions should be a matter of urgent concern to every citizen and to every friend of the United States. One would expect that in the land of Triumphant Democracy—the home of the most numerous portion of the Anglo-Saxon race—these institutions would have their most striking and most satisfactory development. Is this the case? Is it the common testimony of Americans themselves whose experience and judgment make them competent witnesses to the facts? A stranger may be prejudiced or insufficiently informed, and it is only by the evidence of her own sons that the working of one of the most important institutions of the United States can be conclusively declared defective. Applying this test, however, we find a remarkable concurrence of opinion on the part of authorities of eminence and impartiality that, while the local government of rural districts is generally speaking honest and efficient, the municipal administration of the vast populations of towns and cities is lamentably ineffective and unsatisfactory. Where the people are scattered, comparatively poor, and comparatively uneducated, they are able to establish and maintain a proper control over their local affairs; but, where they are concentrated, wealthy, and highly instructed, they allow their comfort to be neglected, their property to be wasted, and their highest interests to become the sport of incompetent, and even of dishonest men. It is not wonderful that such an anomaly should invite discussion, and that attempts should be made to diagnose the disease which has produced this abnormal state of things, and also to find a remedy. No one who knows anything of the common sense and general rectitude of purpose of the American Democracy will doubt their ultimate success in restoring to their true purposes the local liberties that have been temporarily diverted to improper ends. The abuses that have been introduced into city government are not inherent in the institution itself. They have not shown themselves in similar cases in Great Britain or even in the majority of continental towns; and, although it would be presumptuous to suggest that our experience should be bodily transported across the Atlantic and followed in every

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particular, yet at least it affords an encouraging proof that the most popular form of government is not incompatible with the greatest efficiency and the most absolute freedom from any form of political corruption.

As a contribution to the discussion which has been opened in the pages of the FORUM, it is proposed in this paper to indicate the chief differences between municipal government in England and the United States. It must be left to Americans to draw their own conclusions from the facts and to decide how far the diversity of system and methods accounts for the unfavorable contrast which they have themselves drawn of the respective results.

In a paper published in June, 1890, in "Harper's Monthly Magazine," an American writer, Mr. Julian Ralph, has given, as the result of a personal visit and enquiry, a tolerably full and exhaustive account of the local government of Birmingham under the title "The Best-governed City in the World." Referring to this article for the details of the work now carried on by the corporation and other local bodies it is necessary for our present purpose only to summarise the results.

The Corporation came into existence in 1838 and has only gradually attained its present importance. During a little over half a century the town has been transformed and ennobled. Formerly it was badly lighted, imperfectly guarded, and only partially drained; there were few public buildings and few important streets. The paving was defective; the cleansing and watering imperfectly performed; no provision at all existed for the recreation or the culture of the artisan classes. Birmingham in fact was an overgrown village with the population of a great town. But now, great public edifices not unworthy of the importance of a midland metropolis have risen on every side. Wide arteries of communication have been opened up. Rookeries and squalid courts have given way to fine streets and open places. The roads are well paved, well kept, well lighted, and well cleansed. The whole sewerage of the town has been remodelled, and the health of the people is cared for by efficient sanitary inspectors. Baths and wash-houses are provided at a nominal cost to the users. Free libraries and museums of art are open to all the inhabitants; free schools and a school of art, together with facilities for technical instruction, are provided for their education. Recreation is not forgotten, and not less than ten parks and recreation-grounds are now maintained by the Corporation. New Assize Courts and Courts of Justice have been built. The police force and fire brigade are kept in the highest state

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of efficiency; while the great monopolies of gas and water have passed into the hands of the representatives of the whole community, who have also acquired the tramways and have thus retained full control over the roads of the city.

These are the direct results of corporate government acting under the inspiration and control of an enlightened public opinion, and bringing to bear the force and means of the whole community for the advantage of every class and every individual citizen. Is there any reason why equal benefits should not be enjoyed, by the use of the same machinery, in any city of similar population and equivalent standing in the United States—say, for instance, in the City of Boston—and is there any reason why the same results should not be achieved at something like an equivalent cost, making allowance for the higher wages current in America, although we are sometimes told that these are fully compensated for by increased efficiency?

Anyone who knows the two cities of Boston and Birmingham, which have about the same population (Boston being credited with 448,000 in 1890 and Birmingham with 430,000 in 1891), will admit that Birmingham enjoys every result of municipal enterprise, and to at least as great an extent as Boston. Many persons would be inclined to state the case much more strongly in favour of Birmingham, which also confessedly possesses many developments of local activity not yet approached by the sister city. It will be interesting to compare the expenditure, not merely as a matter of curiosity, but especially because the value and usefulness of municipal government must always largely depend on the economy with which it can be administered. There is after all a limit to the productiveness of taxes, and, if this is already strained to the utmost, there will be no room for further extensions of the social agencies, which, however beneficial in themselves, may yet be purchased at too high a price. Again, if it should appear that, as compared with private enterprise and individual exertions, a municipality works always at a disadvantage in expenditure, it will be undesirable that its operations should be enlarged, and the community will do well to confine itself strictly to the absolute minimum of necessary work which cannot be accomplished at all without its intervention.

This important question of comparative cost appears to have hitherto received very little attention in the United States. On the occasion of a visit made two years ago, I consulted various authorities and arrived at some very startling conclusions, the accuracy of which

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it is certainly desirable to test. There is some little difficulty in making an exact comparison owing to the different methods of assessment in different places, and especially owing to the entirely different basis of English local rating. But, whether the question be tested by the actual total expenditure, or by the rate of expenditure per head of population, or by the percentage of the cost of local taxation to total income, the result is about the same, viz.: that the Americans pay for less efficient service in their large towns nearly five times as much as is paid in the case of a well-managed English municipality.

To show this more clearly, and also to enable the expenditure to be more clearly followed, the accompanying table has been prepared. The figures are taken in the case of Birmingham from the Financial Statement for 1889 and in the case of Boston from the Financial Report, 1889–90. It is not possible to make an abstract which shall be absolutely correct, as the two systems of accounts are different, and it may happen that some items in each statement are wrongly compared. The charges for interest on debt are in Birmingham divided accurately under the different heads of indebtedness, while in the case of Boston they appear to be separately dealt with in an account of their own. In the same way the charge for re-payment of loans, and for depreciation of properties, is debited in Birmingham separately to the expenditure under each head. I have failed to trace a charge for this purpose in the Boston accounts. But, making these allowances, it may be assumed that the totals at any rate are correct; and from these it appears that the expenditure for local purposes in the city of Boston, including schools and poor-law expenditure, is nearly five times as large as that for similar objects in Birmingham.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE BIRMINGHAM CITY COUNCIL, THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD, AND OF THE BIRMINGHAM BOARD OF GUARDIANS, COMPARED WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE EXPENDITURE FOR SIMILAR PURPOSES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON.

Birmingham.		*Boston.*	
1. School Board ..... This is only the portion of the total expense for elementary education which falls upon the rates. The total cost of the elementary education of the whole of the children of school age in the borough is about £180,000. The difference is made up by contributions from the government, the amount of the school fees, and the amount of voluntary subscriptions. The sum charged on the rates includes interest on loans and annual sinking fund.	£70,000	1. Schools..	$2,266,000
	£70,000		$2,266,000

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Birmingham.		*Boston.*		
Forward.....	£70,000	Forward.....		$2,266,000
2. Improvement Scheme ..... This sum is the present net annual deficiency on the great improvement scheme carried out in one of the worst quarters of the town under the Artisans' Dwellings Act. In the course of about sixty years the Corporation will own in fee-simple the whole property, worth now nearly two millions sterling, but in the mean time there is a loss which is gradually diminishing and now stands at £25,000 a year.	25,000	2. There is no expenditure in Boston which corresponds to this.		
3. Public Works Committee and Drainage Board..... This amount includes all salaries and wages in the Department; repairing and cleansing the streets; watering and lighting; maintenance of sewer and sewage farm; tramways; inspection of buildings and new works; interest on loans and sinking fund.	141,000	3. Bridges..... $200,000 Ferries..... 199,000 Engineer's Department.. 35,000 Surveyor's Department.. 35,000 Inspection of Buildings.. 68,000 Lighting..... 592,000 Paving.....1,122,000 Sewers..... 728,000 Sewerage..... 75,000 I do not find any charge for watering the streets. The charge for interest on loans and repayment has to be added. The charge for bridges and ferries may be for new works. If so, it ought to be debited to capital and not to annual expenditure.	3,054,000	
4. Free libraries, Art Gallery, Aston Hall, and School of Art..... There are five lending libraries and one reference library containing one hundred thousand volumes. The total issue of books is nearly nine hundred thousand per annum. The Art Gallery contains a collection of pictures belonging to the town, and also a collection of art pottery, embroideries, manufactures, antiquities, etc., of great value. Aston Hall is an Elizabethan mansion belonging to the town and it contains a miscellaneous collection of pictures and curiosities. The expenditure includes interest on loans and sinking fund.	16,000	4. Public Library.....		162,000
5. Lunatic Asylums ..... This sum represents the interest on loans for the building and the sinking fund. The cost of maintenance is provided by the Board of Guardians (see 14).	5,000	5. There appears no charge for lunatics in the city funds, but it is probably paid by the State taxation.		
6. Finance Committee..... This amount includes the cost of collection of taxes, provision of electoral register, expenses of magistrates' courts, and miscellaneous.	15,000	6. Assessors..... $109,000 Auditors..... 24,000 Collectors..... 61,000 Treasurer's Department 37,000	231,000	
7. Watch Committee..... This includes the cost of the police force of six hundred men and of the fire brigade; the cost of sending children to a reformatory; and the sum of £1,500 payable in connection with the cost of the jail. The principal cost of the prisons is now borne by the government and is not a local expense.	62,500	7. Police..... $1,135,000 Fire Brigade..... 862,000	1,997,000	
8. Baths and Parks Committee..... There are five public baths and wash-houses, seven parks, and three recreation-grounds—all managed by the Corporation. A small charge is made for the use of the baths and wash-houses. The parks and grounds are free. The amount includes interest on loans and sinking fund.	11,000	8. Baths ..... $16,000 Public Grounds..... 108,000 Parks..... 541,000	665,000	
	£345,500			$8,375,000

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Birmingham.		*Boston.*	
Forward.....	£345,500	Forward.....	$8,375,000
9. Estates Committee. ..... This committee has charge of the City Hall, the Council House, and Municipal Offices, and the City Cemetery. The amount includes interest on loans and repayment.	14,600	9. Architect's Department. $20,000 Cemetery ..... 28,500 Public Buildings..... 577,000 It is possible that a large part of this expenditure on public buildings belongs to capital and should not be charged to annual expenditure.	625,500
10. General Purposes Committee..... This includes expense of the Town Clerk's Office, expense of municipal and other elections, and provision for Judges' lodgings at the Assizes, besides other miscellaneous expenses.	4,500	10. Clerk's Department..... $21,000 Messengers. ... . 22,000 Registrar..... 14,000 Contingent ..... 20,000 Executive. ..... 18,000 Incidentals ..... 38,000 Law..... 28,000 Printing. ..... 60,000 Celebrations..... 25,000 Salaries..... ..... 29,000 Elections ..... 170,000 These expenses probably belong in part to other departments, but I am unable to distribute them with certainty.	445,000
11. Industrial School.	3,900	11. I do not find this charge in the Boston accounts, but it may be included in the charge for public institutions (see 14).	
12. Health Committee..... .... This includes removal of refuse and night soil, and treatment of the same at the works; inspection of premises, and operations under the Adulterations Acts; Mortuaries, Borough Hospital containing four hundred beds; Convalescent Home, and Disinfecting Plant; also interest on loans and repayment. In addition to the Borough Hospital there is an Infirmary paid for by the Board of Guardians (see 14). Besides the Institutions paid for out of the rates, there are a large number of hospitals in Birmingham supported by voluntary contributions.	64,500	12. Board of Health..... $80,000 Health Department. ... 490,000 Inspection of Provisions. 12,000 Hospitals..... 295,000	877,000
13. Markets and Fairs. We make a profit out of this committee.		13. Markets.....	9,500
14. Poor Law Expenses ..... This includes expense of workhouses and out-door relief; also lunatics, £25,000; Infirmary, £10,000, and cottage homes, £10,000; also interest on loans and repayment.	120,000	14. Public Institutions..... .... It is not clear what this item really is, but it is assumed that the House of Industry and similar institutions must be comparable with our work-houses and poor law buildings. Overseers of the poor.....	577,000 110,000
Total.....	553,000	15. Interest on the City Debt..... The interest on loans should be distributed to the expenditure under its several heads, but I am unable to make the division.	1,551,000
Less. Profits on Gas Undertaking...£25,000 Profits on Water Undertaking 2,000 Profits on Markets..... 4,000	31,000	16. Sinking Fund. I see no item for Sinking Fund or Repayment of Loans, but if there is one it should also be distributed to the several committees.	
Raised by Rates .....£483,000 Government Grants..... 27,000 Balance carried forward..... 12,000			
Net total £522,000	£522,000	Total.	$12,570,000

It may be observed that in this comparison the whole of the local expenditure is included. If we confine ourselves strictly to municipal

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charges we must deduct from the total Birmingham expenditure of £553,000, the following items, viz.: Schools, £70,000; Lunatic Asylums, £5,000; Poor Law, £120,000; and also the exceptional charge of £25,000 for the great scheme under the Artisans' Dwellings Act. This would leave the total municipal expenditure at £333,000.

The Boston expenditure would be diminished by Schools, $2,266,000, Overseers of Poor, $110,000, and possibly by some part of the expenditure for Public Institutions. The total municipal expenditure would then stand at $10,194,000, or more than six times the expenditure of Birmingham.

Although in this calculation Boston has been taken as a convenient subject of comparison, it must not be supposed that Boston stands alone or is comparatively excessive in its expenditure. In the Census Bulletin, No. 82, published by the Census Office, the Superintendent, the Hon. R. P. Porter, gives the statistics of the expenditure of one hundred principal and representative cities of the United States with a total population of 12,425,366, or about two-thirds of the urban population of the whole country. The list includes cities of every class, from Burlington, Vt., with a population of 14,590, to New York with 1,515,301; and the respective expenditures vary from $3.79 per head in the case of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Oswego, New York, to $27.61 for St. Paul, Minnesota.

The total ordinary expenses for the whole of the hundred cities are given as $234,626,655. Deducting $7,166,901 for charitable objects, and $19,086,751 for water-works, which are expenses not represented in the Birmingham statistics, there remains $208,373,003, or $16.77 per head of the population. The corresponding expenditure in Birmingham, including schools, is £403,000, which is equal to 18s. 9d., or $4.50 per head. The expenditure of Birmingham, with a population of 430,000, is therefore little more than one-fourth of the average of one hundred American cities, great and small together.

It may be added that Mr. Porter gives the expenditure per head of Boston as $35.94 for ordinary expenditure, and $23.74 for approximate administrative expenditure. His abstract of the accounts differs in detail from that given in this paper, but, assuming the lower of his two averages, it would appear that the average per head in Boston is still more than five times as great as that of Birmingham.

There is still one other way of checking and testing this result. What proportion of his net income is paid by an average urban resident in one of the great cities of America on account of local taxa-

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tion? In England it might vary from 2½ per cent to 5 per cent. In America it appears to reach from 15 per cent to 30 per cent; and thus, from whatever side the subject is approached, there can be no doubt of the enormous disproportion between the cost of similar service in the two countries.

Is it possible to give any reasonable explanation of this discrepancy, which may well suggest misgivings to the minds of the American tax-payers and which goes far to account for the deficiencies in the services rendered by municipal government of which they complain?

We may at once dismiss the idea that it is to be attributed to a more liberal franchise. The municipal suffrage in all English and Scotch boroughs under the Municipal Corporations Acts is extended to all rate-payers, whether male or female, and whether they pay their taxes directly, or indirectly in the shape of rent and through the landlord. The municipal register of Birmingham for 1891 contains 88,186 names. The registered voters for Boston, with a slightly larger population, numbered only 73,000 in 1890. The suffrage is therefore more widely extended in Birmingham than in Boston, and in both cases the working classes and small rate-payers are in an immense majority, and can practically do as they like.

In English municipalities no property qualification is required for members of the Council, and in that of Birmingham several workingmen have seats and attend to its duties without giving up their ordinary daily avocations. The Aldermen, who constitute one-third of the Council, are elected by the remaining members. They sit and vote with the rest of the Council and have no other privileges than that of being elected for six, instead of for three years, and of escaping the cost and labour of a popular election. The ordinary Councillors retire every three years—one-third going out each year. This system of renewing the Council by sections has the advantage of preserving some continuity in its policy and of retaining the experience of the older members, while at the same time it allows the general drift of public opinion to be made immediately manifest. The Council have the power of electing Aldermen from the general body of citizens, but this right is very seldom exercised, and the office is generally considered as a distinction to be earned by long and efficient service as an ordinary Councillor. The only outside aid accepted by the Council is in the case of the Free Libraries and Museums, which, under a special act, are managed by a Committee of fourteen, consist-

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ing of eight Councillors and six citizens chosen by the Council from outside. This provision enables the Council to avail itself of special knowledge and taste in a matter which is not connected with its ordinary work, and has been found valuable in the development and management of these popular institutions.

In the selection of candidates for the Council the practice of different localities varies greatly. In some it is conducted as a matter wholly apart from ordinary politics; but in the majority party considerations have a preponderating weight in determining the choice. This is defended on two grounds: first, it is pointed out that a much better class of candidates is to be found to contest a seat when the great issues of national policy are even indirectly involved; whereas petty local and personal interests would prevail if the contest were strictly limited to parochial questions; and, secondly, it is urged that in every party there are many good men well fitted for municipal honours who have no chance of representing a constituency in the House of Commons, and who would lose all interest in the party organisation if its operations were confined exclusively to parliamentary elections. Whatever may be thought of these arguments, it is certain that the efficiency of local institutions in Great Britain has not suffered owing to the prevailing influence of party motives. It should, however, be borne in mind that in this country the members of all our local governing bodies are unpaid and their office is purely honorary, except in the case of the Mayor, who, in a small minority of boroughs, is voted a salary to enable him to maintain the dignity of his office. In most cases, however, like the rest of his colleagues, the Mayor bears his own charges and considers himself sufficiently remunerated by the importance and influence which the position confers upon him. He is elected for one year by the Council and not by the popular vote, but may be re-elected for any number of similar terms. The office confers no statutory privileges except that of presiding over the deliberations of the Council; but, as the Mayor can attend all the Committees, he may readily secure, if he is a man of energy and capacity, the confidence and support of the Council and thus exercise a very important influence on its decisions and general policy.

Although, as has been stated, political considerations exercise great weight in determining the composition of the Council, they ought never to be allowed—and as a matter of fact they very seldom are allowed—to have the slightest force in the election of the permanent

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officials or the day workmen employed by the Corporation. For nearly sixty years the great majority of the Town Council of Birmingham have been Liberals and Radicals, and yet during the greater part of that time the majority of the high officials have been members of the Conservative Party. All the higher officials are appointed by the Council itself. The minor officials are appointed by the Councillors of the several Departments and confirmed by the Council; and the day workmen either by the Councillors or more generally by the permanent heads of the Departments. When a new official has to be elected no questions are asked as to his political opinions, and no interference would afterwards be tolerated with his exercise of electoral privileges. It is an unwritten law that no paid official shall take an active part in political contests. He is expected to refrain from the platform and the press in relation to such controversial matters, but his private opinions and his votes are matters exclusively for his own discretion. Once chosen, if he discharges his duties well and faithfully, he remains in office for life, or till his resignation; with the probability that if he is disqualified by age or infirmities he will receive a pension proportioned to his salary and the length of his service. In Birmingham, the Town Clerk receives a salary which with allowances amounts to £2,200 per annum; the City Surveyor, £1,400; the City Treasurer, £1,050; the Chief of Police, £920; the Medical Officer of Health, £1,000; the Engineers of the Gas Department have £1,200 and £1,050 respectively; the Chief Engineer of the Water Department, £1,200, and the Secretaries of the Gas and Water Departments, £1,250 and £750 respectively. These gentlemen, with all the other permanent officials, are expected to give their whole working time to the Corporation and not to engage in any other occupation. Some of them have been more than thirty years in its service. They have grown with its growth and remained at their posts while the composition of the Council has changed many times, always enjoying the full confidence of their successive employers. To an Englishman the idea that paid municipal office should be the sport of successful politicians is utterly abhorrent. The personal honour, the trustworthiness, and the fidelity to their engagements of the permanent official service—whether in the Departments of State or in the municipal administrations of the country—are a national possession and a source of pride and satisfaction to all who are interested in the welfare of our institutions. To substitute for such a class—so distinguished, so faithful, and so absolutely honest and incorruptible—a number of casual occupants of posts for

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which they have no sufficient qualification—political cadgers and hangers-on, with no real love for their work—with no ambition to distinguish themselves in it and only anxious to fill their pockets in the shortest possible time before they give place to a new swarm of the same breed—would be a disastrous revolution, and would in the opinion of every public man in this country be the certain precursor of inefficiency, corruption, and extravagance in our national and local administration.

In any attempt to find the cause of the great difference in cost of the municipal administration of the two countries, it is of course necessary to take into account the difference in the cost of wages. Labour, especially ordinary day labour, is certainly more highly paid in money in the United States than in England. But we are told by President Harrison and other authorities that, under the Protective system enjoyed by the American people, higher wages can be maintained without raising the cost of the necessaries of life. If this be true, it must be because the work done is better in quality and more in quantity in proportion to the amount of the wages; and in this case the same rule ought to apply to municipal work as exists in the case of private manufactures or production, and the scavenger in New York who gets two dollars a day for eight hours' work ought to be twice as efficient as his fellow-workman in Birmingham with four shillings per day of nine hours.

Even if we are incredulous as to the miraculous virtues of Protection, and if we admit that wages are higher in America than in England for the same class and quantity of work, the difference is not sufficient to account for an expenditure from four to six times as great. It is doubtful whether heads of departments or the higher grades of labour are paid much more highly than with us. As regards ordinary day work, the following are the rates and conditions of different classes in Birmingham: paviours, five shillings per day of nine hours; scavengers and street cleaners, four shillings per day of nine hours; gas stokers, five shillings and six pence per day of eight hours; inspectors of nuisances, five shillings to seven shillings per day; ordinary policemen, five shillings per day; firemen, three shillings and six pence to six shillings and six pence per day. In some of these cases—the police and firemen, for instance—the uniforms are found and there are superannuation allowances.

It must be admitted that there is a growing tendency in England,

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under pressure from the Trades Unions and other labour organisations, to establish in connection with corporate work a minimum of wages and a maximum of hours. This principle may easily be carried too far. It is right that a wealthy municipality should act towards all its employees with a liberality as great as that practised by the most generous of private employers; but, if it goes one iota beyond this, it is in fact taxing all the rate-payers, and especially the great mass of the working class, in order to establish a privileged class of workmen obtaining special advantages at the expense of their less fortunate fellows; and it is at the same time lessening its power of carrying out works beneficial to the whole community, since every additional penny of cost is so much taken from the general fund applicable to this purpose. At present, however, there is no reason to believe that the workpeople employed by our Corporations receive more than the full average market value for their services.

A second reason frequently given to account for the extravagance of American City expenditure is the alleged existence of deliberate dishonesty and corruption practised on a gigantic scale. In the popularly elected municipalities of England this does not exist and has never existed. It is significant, and perhaps suggestive, that in Ireland there have been well-grounded complaints of such practices. The notorious case of Dublin, where the municipality bought inferior paving stones from Mr. Parnell's quarries at a higher price than was tendered for better material by another contractor, and the serious irregularities frequently proved against Irish Boards of Guardians, are cases in point; but it is doubtful if, since the passing of the Municipal Corporations Acts in 1836, there has ever been a single case in connection with any of the Corporations under the Act in which there has been any general corruption or malversation of public funds or any organised stealing by any political combination. There have been some isolated cases of personal dishonesty on the part of particular officials, just as there are occasionally fraudulent cashiers in banks or thieving clerks in a mercantile house; but there has been nothing which could be particularly associated with corporate institutions or with their method of management.

It is for Americans to say whether their experience is the same. It is well known that at particular periods of the municipal history of certain cities the gravest scandals have arisen, but it is difficult to believe that these are chronic in any town, or that they are general in the majority of American corporations. If not, the existence of occa-

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sional and sporadic dishonesty is not sufficient to account for the phenomenon that we seek to explain.

There remains only one other possible cause; and that is, that, owing to ineffective control and supervision by the honorary members of the Councils in the first place, and secondly by the chief officials, the standard of work has fallen too low and the standard of payment has risen too high. In such a case apathy and carelessness would soon lead to general inefficiency and incompetence. Places without work would be inordinately multiplied to give opportunities for patronage; and we may be sure that, whenever four men are chosen to do a task which one can easily perform, the work will be badly as well as expensively done; since there can be no proper sense of responsibility under such conditions. Ignorance would be permitted to review the work of idleness; and dishonesty, even if it did not take the form of actual theft, would be rife in the shape of neglect of duty and inadequate service.

We have now completed the review of the differences which have arisen in the United States and in England in the working of what is practically the same institution. If there is any moral to be drawn from the contrast it may be most properly left to an American to extract it, for it would be presumptuous in an outsider to dogmatise on a question in which he possesses an intimate knowledge of only one side.

The leading idea of the English system may be said to be that of a joint-stock or co-operative enterprise in which every citizen is a shareholder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the improved health and the increase in the comfort and happiness of the community. The members of the Council are the directors of this great business, and their fees consist in the confidence, the consideration, and the gratitude of those amongst whom they live. In no other undertaking, whether philanthropic or commercial, are the returns more speedy, more manifest, or more beneficial. To give a single illustration, the reforms in Birmingham, carried out in a few years, reduced the death-rate from 26.8 per 1,000 in 1874 to 19 in 1888, although it has risen a little since owing to the influenza epidemic. In other words, the initiative of the unpaid members of the Council, and their supervision of the loyal and assiduous labours of the paid officials, have been the means of saving the lives of more than 3,000 persons in a single year; and, inasmuch as for a single death many cases of

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illness not actually fatal may be reckoned, it is easy to see what a mass of human suffering has been lightened and how much misery has been prevented. Under these circumstances, the primary object of all concerned is not so much to lessen expenditure as to spend most wisely and to invest the money of the community in such a way as to secure continuously equally satisfactory results in the condition of the people.

This is the ideal at the present time; but of one thing we may be certain. If ever the principles of action should change—if the best men should be so occupied with their own fortunes that they should leave the care of the commonwealth to those who will see in this duty only an opportunity for plunder—if office is sought, not for the good which can be done, but for the political patronage it may afford—if paid officials lose their pride in their work and their loyalty to the public that employs them—if incapacity is overlooked and corruption is condoned—then, if these things happen—the dignity, the efficiency, and the economy of our public service will all disappear, and the institution of local government, so long our pride and our glory, will be discredited in the eyes of the people and will become a bye-word and a reproach.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: LESSONS FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF QUINCY, MASS.[1]

An experience, now no longer short and still fast increasing, seems to indicate that one cause of the trouble experienced in our city governments is that they have from the beginning been organized on a defective model,—that they followed an analogy which was not applicable,—the model of the constitutions of the State and of the United States. The municipal government was assumed to be analogous to the political government. In fact it was and is nothing of the sort: the state is a political entity; the municipality, a mere business organization. Accordingly, it is no part of the proper function of those handling municipal affairs to consider philosophical principles of statecraft. They are, on the contrary, persons selected by the constituencies to do the work intrusted to them, because the constituent masses have grown so large that they can no longer meet in one body to do that work themselves. The function of the municipal officer is, therefore, to administer the affairs of a local community in an intelligent and business-like way. Nevertheless, in Massachusetts the municipal governments have always been traditionally framed with the cumbrous machinery of the larger political bodies. They have, as matter of course, had their boards of aldermen, representing the senate, and their common councils, representing the more popular branch of the Legislature, instead of the simple executive and board of directors of innumerable other business organizations. Indeed, it seems almost to have been assumed as a maxim by the framers of the city charters that municipal machinery would work more efficiently in proportion to its clumsiness and intricacy. Again, the functions of the several departments of the ordinary city government have, in the course of time, become hopelessly confused. Responsibility has ceased to exist; for the legislative has by degrees encroached on the executive until, in the greater number of cities, the mayor is reduced to a mere cipher, while certain irresponsible combinations in the legislative chambers and city

[1] From an Address delivered in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Incorporation of Quincy, Mass.

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halls, generally known as "rings," really control the administration of affairs. Almost of necessity, the executive functions have more and more fallen into the hands of commissions and boards, as the special requirements for the successful management of streets, sewers, lighting, police, etc., grow in importance. These boards, if not irresponsible, are as a rule and under existing city organizations not responsible to the chief executive.

Public attention had for years been forcibly called to these gathering difficulties by the occurrence of scandals of ever-increasing notoriety, more and more discussed, which those who drew up our Quincy charter bore freshly in mind. Accordingly, that charter, framed in consultation with individuals both within and without the State who had made a special study of the subject, was based on correct political theories in one respect at least,—in so far as was practicable, it was not a creation, but an outgrowth. In this matter, the principle at the base of all successful constitutional government was carefully regarded, —the fundamental principle that "everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring it is likely to prove." Changing, therefore, in the least degree possible, the system to which the community had long been accustomed, those who framed our Quincy charter proposed simply to do away with the old board of selectmen as an executive body, and with the town-meeting as a legislative body, and to substitute for them respectively a responsible single executive, and a council much in the nature of a board of corporation directors. The framers of the charter in distributing the powers and functions of the proposed government followed, and followed correctly, the maxim that "Deliberation is the work of many, Execution is the work of one"; and while to the council of Quincy under its charter all proper deliberative and directive liberty was allotted, the Mayor of Quincy was avowedly intended to be clothed with a larger and more arbitrary power within his department than had ever in the United States been confided to the executive head of any organization classed as political.

The Quincy charter has now been in operation for three years and a half. It may be said generally that as the result of its working the impression prevails that the composition of the council—the legislative department—is the weak point in it. In that body there has been a noticeable tendency towards the sacrifice of general to local interests. Ward politics and requirements have been unduly prom-

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inent. This it is claimed is due to the feature of local constituency in the charter, and to the want of any provision securing minority representation. The students of municipal government assert that the Quincy charter, as far as it went, was based on correct principles; but that it failed to carry out those principles to their necessary logical result. The analogy of the business corporation should have been followed to its full extent, and all the members of the legislative department should have been chosen at large, regardless of ward lines; with, moreover, some provision for minority representation. This result, it is argued, would have been brought about to manifest advantage had the charter provided for the election of a council to be composed of fifteen, or twenty-one, or twenty-four members, as might be thought best, all to be chosen at large, while no voter could vote for over two thirds of the entire number to be chosen; but, on the other hand, each voter should have been at liberty to concentrate all, or any portion of the votes he could cast on one or more candidates, or to distribute them among the full number he was entitled to vote for, giving one vote to each. The fifteen, twenty-one or twenty-four candidates who received in this way the largest number of votes, irrespective of the size of the several votes as compared with the whole or each other, would be elected, and would compose the council.

Had such a system of electing the members of the legislative department been made a part of the Quincy charter, it would, it is contended, have assured an almost absolutely free constituency. Had those composing this total constituency, or any portion of them, desired to secure ward or local representation, it would have been easy for them to organize themselves so as, through concentration of votes, to bring that result about. It was right that they should have this power. If, on the other hand, scattered citizens wished to form a constituency to bring about certain results, or choose to the council particular men, it ought to be made easy for them so to do. It is now difficult, if not impossible. Freedom for individual action was the object to be kept in view and the result to be secured; and this result cannot be attained through the political systems now in use. It could be attained through changes in the basis of constituency of the kind suggested.

Such was and is the Quincy charter,—our attempt at a solution of the great problem now vexing the nation. It was a new departure,—a departure carefully prepared, in full sympathy with the current political theories of the day; and then understandingly entered upon.

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Whether it will prove a successful departure,—a veritable and valuable contribution to political science,—remains to be seen; but whether in the result it does or does not so prove, it was and is, as I have said, none the less an honest, an intelligent and a well-considered attempt at the solution of the problem.

And now, having said this much, let us look at the thing from another point of view; for we may rest assured that before any final result is reached,—at least if that result is to be of a satisfactory and not of a chaotic character,—this thing has got to be studied as well as looked at from every conceivable point of view. From another point of view may it not be that in the Quincy charter the fatal mistake was made of endeavoring to devise a governmental machinery which should do the work the citizen only can do with success? Of late the effort has unquestionably been, through some ingenious and careful readjustment of the parts of government and their relations to the community and each other, to invent a mere machine, which, once set in motion, will work of itself,—a kind of nickel-in-the-slot political arrangement, under which the citizen will be saved the trouble of doing anything, except periodically dropping an improved ballot into a patented ballot-box.

More than a century and a half ago an English poet, a good deal more read formerly than now, epigrammatically exclaimed—

> "For forms of government let fools contest:
> That which is best administered is best."

While this certainly is not now, and never was, wholly true, yet there is truth in it,—a degree of truth of which the charter theorists need to be reminded now that they are so plainly tending to the opposite theory, that, in municipal governments at any rate, everything is in the form, the proper distribution of functions and concentration of responsibility—that, in short, if we are only patient and ingenious enough in device, a charter can in time be produced which, once set in motion, will grind out a correct and satisfactory administration of municipal affairs. May it not be that, after all, the Quincy charter was to some extent an attempt of this sort,—an attempt to secure through mechanical means that which a disinterested and widely diffused public spirit and co-operative action only ever have brought about yet, or probably ever will bring about hereafter?

If this is so, it needs no prophet's eye to foresee that our Quincy charter is, as the solution of a difficult problem, not destined to prove

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a success. When Mr. Bryce said that, as respects American municipal affairs, "we find able citizens absorbed in their private business, cultivated citizens unusually sensitive to the vulgarities of practical politics, and both sets therefore specially unwilling to sacrifice their time and tastes and comforts in the struggle" of civic administration,—when Mr. Bryce wrote this, he touched with the point of his pen the true seat of trouble. More than that, he indicated the only possible remedy for it.

It is good to frame charters and constitutions; it is well to devise ingenious political expedients; it is refreshing to observe the working of nicely balanced paper adjustments:—but, by themselves and of themselves, it is most improbable that in the present or any other respect these will ever work out the political salvation of a community which depends upon them. The Quincy charter, I will also add, however excellent it may be in theory, will in the coming years not work out the municipal salvation of Quincy. Of that much at least we can even now feel assured. Something else is necessary; and that something is men,—and, moreover, the very best men this or any other town or city now can or ever will supply. The solution, and the only solution, of the problem which torments us may be as easy to point out as it is difficult to secure. In looking for it, also, it may not be necessary to go very far afield.

I venture to suggest, also, that in the matter of municipal rule and administration we might to-day derive useful hints from the experience in another field of France and Italy, and yet more of Germany. Those nations have their skeletons in the closet,—their problems which must be solved,—as we have ours. Adequate security against internal disorder or foreign aggression is their problem. Their solution of it is compulsory military service. Our problem is good municipal government. Might not its solution be found in a species of compulsory municipal service? The suggestion of such a thing may at first seem futile and almost foolish; yet, perhaps, the more it is considered, the less idle will it appear. In republican America, no less than despotic Russia, the community has, so far as the individual citizen is concerned,—no matter who that citizen may be, or what his vocation, or what his estate,—the community has over him a certain right of eminent domain; and a right which within reasonable limits it should exercise. To say this is merely to assert, what no one will deny, that every citizen is towards the government which protects him under obligations of duty a quittance for which is not included in the

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receipt of the tax-collector. If then the public exigency demands, and the demand can in no other way be met, just as the German government puts its hand on every German,—high-born or low-born, rich or poor,—and puts him for a term of years into the ranks of its army, exacting from him this forced service on public account,—so, under our institutions and in the spirit of them, you here in Quincy, and by the same principle those there in Boston and in New York and in San Francisco, have a right to lay hands on any citizen of your or their municipality, be he rich or poor, prominent or obscure, educated or ignorant, and exact of him a term of municipal service, if you see fit so to do; and moreover, just as in Germany a physical disability or papers of discharge alone give exemption from military duty, so here, if a proper system prevailed, only a similar disability or a reasonable term of duty performed, ought to secure exemption from municipal service. Not only under a republican system of government is this, I repeat, the right of the community, but more than that, it is its duty to exercise the right, and to enforce its exercise by all necessary means.

The enunciation of such a doctrine of public right and private duty will, I know, sound strange now, and by most be regarded as theoretic. I greatly fear, also, that as a practical remedy it is out of the question, being opposed to that tendency or drift of public opinion and unwritten law of usage than which nothing is more difficult to reverse or overcome. If such is the case,—if municipal service cannot be put on the same plane as jury duty,—it remains only to accept the situation, and to go on treating that service in the future as we have treated it in the more recent past, as a voluntary contribution to be made by those of more public spirit, and withheld by those of less. But if such is indeed the case, let no one hug himself in the pleasing delusion that the results of American municipal government in the future will be any more satisfactory than they have been heretofore. Most assuredly they will not, for it will then be evident that the root of the trouble is in the decay of public spirit; and neither charters nor systems of checks and balances, no matter how intricate or how cunningly devised, ever were or ever will be an adequate substitute for public spirit. On the contrary, those devices become then a delusion and a snare.

Such a theory of public right and private duty may to some also sound Utopian rather than merely theoretic. To such, if such there be, I will merely say: It was not always so!—and in proof thereof, I

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with all confidence appeal to the record. Listen, and you will learn, very possibly to your surprise, that what you now dismiss as Utopian, —that very compulsory municipal service, irrespective of every social distinction, which I have suggested, not only formerly prevailed here in Quincy, but was enforced by a money penalty as well as by public opinion. And first, I call as a witness one who, it will be remembered, before being President of the United States, served two successive years as a selectman of Braintree. John Adams graduated at Harvard College in 1755, and six years later, in 1761, was a young lawyer just beginning practice in his native town. Here is his experience, recounted by himself, of compulsory municipal service as then practised:

"In March [of that year], when I had no suspicion, I heard my name pronounced [at town-meeting] in a nomination of surveyors of highways. I was very wroth, because I knew no better, but said nothing. My friend Dr. Savil came to me and told me that he had nominated me to prevent me from being nominated as a constable. 'For,' said the doctor, 'they make it a rule to compel every man to serve either as constable or surveyor, or to pay a fine.' I said they might as well have chosen any boy in school, for I knew nothing of the business; but since they had chosen me at a venture, I would accept it in the same manner, and find out my duty as I could."

Now for other cases of the enforcement of this rule of compulsory municipal service. Your ancient records are full of them, nor were any exemptions allowed. For instance, in 1734 Josiah Quincy, then a young man of twenty-five, was elected constable, and the town constable in those days collected the town taxes,—a duty even more odious then than now, for to it a financial liability for the entire levy attached by law: to this office of constable the Josiah Quincy of that day was chosen in the Braintree town-meeting of 1734; and the record goes on, "Mr. Josiah Quincy refused to serve, and paid his fine down, being five pounds." So John Borland, belonging to one of the few wealthy families in the town, a member of the Church of England society, and subsequently a Tory, was chosen constable in 1756, though then excused from serving; but in 1757 he was chosen again, and appears to have served. In 1774 General Joseph Palmer, being then fifty-eight, a man of fortune and a deacon, was duly chosen constable at the annual March meeting, over which he was at the time presiding as moderator; but he "refused serving, as incompatible with his church office." In 1728, Moses Belcher was chosen; and he declaring non-acceptance, William Fields was next chosen; Fields also declaring his non-acceptance, "John Adams, being by a majority of votes chosen, he declared his acceptance." In 1735 no less than twenty-

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five pounds were paid in as fines for non-acceptance; and those fines were looked upon as so considerable a source of revenue that in 1730 it had been voted that the money accruing on this account should be for the benefit, not of the town as a whole, but of the particular precincts in which the individuals who paid it might live. Col. John Quincy's only son, Norton, graduated in 1756, and two years later, at the town-meeting of September 11, he was chosen constable. Another meeting was held a week afterwards. Colonel Quincy was then a man of nearly seventy, and for almost fifty years he had been the most prominent personage in the town. He was looked up to with that respect which, in the popular mind, always accompanies advancing years associated with high personal character and the long holding of public office. The old man seems to have thought the choice of his son as town constable an act derogatory to himself; so he went into the second meeting, and, as the record says, "desired his son might be excused from serving constable." Among those to whom this request was addressed there could not have been many who remembered a time when the man who made it had not, as a matter of course, presided at town-meetings. They were not wanting in deference to years and standing; and if they would defer to any one, they would surely defer to him after whom the North Precinct as an independent town was subsequently named. But, clearly, they thought that Colonel Quincy was now demanding for himself and his an exemption from public service which amounted to little less than a denial of equality. Such an assumption of superiority was inconsistent with the spirit of town government. And so, the record proceeds, "after reasons offered," the request to be excused was "passed in the negative," and the town treasurer was directed "to call on said Norton Quincy for his fine." Apparently the old man felt this slight, as he regarded it, deeply; for his name does not appear again in the town records, though it was nine years yet before he died. But young Norton Quincy accepted the rebuke in the true spirit. He paid his fine, and the next year, when the town again chose him constable, he quietly accepted the office and performed its duties. Later he was chosen selectman, serving as such for many years during the revolutionary period.

So stands the record on the point that in Quincy here there is nothing novel in the idea of compulsory municipal service, or in its practical enforcement. In former days a man could not be called upon to serve forever as town-constable, nor could he properly be

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called upon to serve perpetually now as a mayor or as member of your city council; but he was then compelled to serve his reasonable term of municipal duty in the positions to which his fellow-townsmen called him, and now he should be compelled to do the same. Nor wealth nor indolence nor private occupation sufficed to secure exemption then; nor should they suffice to secure it now.

I have also said that the American municipality is entitled to the service of its best men. But who are your "best men?"—for, in politics, this phrase sometimes excites a sneer, as though in that field the talking of "best men" seemed to contain an implied and undemocratic assertion that for civic purposes all men are not equal. By "best men," therefore, are meant those who in the ordinary walks of life—on the street, in the court-room, the sick-chamber and the market-place—are recognized as most successful in their callings. If you are going to organize a bank or a manufacturing or a railroad company, you do not select from among its stockholders a list of directors largely composed of those who have notoriously failed in whatever else they have undertaken, or who are otherwise discredited. You carefully select, on the contrary, men known to have been shrewdest and most successful in the management of their own affairs, and who stand highest in the estimate of the stockholders. Has the same practice been followed as a rule in the make-up of the boards of aldermen and common councils of our cities? Yet in what way, so far as good business management is concerned, does a public corporation differ from a private corporation? By the "best men" of a municipality, therefore, is meant those who are recognized and looked to as best and most successful in the ordinary walks of life: and it is to a reasonable share of the services of these that, I insist, every municipality is entitled as of right; and, moreover, that its claim should be enforced, where public opinion does not suffice, by such other means, whether of obloquy or pecuniary loss, as might be found necessary to bring about the desired result.

Herein, I submit, might be found one factor, and a most important factor, in the solution of our problem. But the suggestion of it will be met with the objection that, through the working of the political machinery now in use, and to which as a community we are thoroughly accustomed, the best men are not selected for office. The machine, indeed, is not worked to that end. Far from it; the professionals who make a business of manipulating the caucus are to the modern citizen, honestly minded but engrossed in his private affairs,

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very much what armed mercenaries were to the town mob in old feudal days,—nine times out of ten they are absolute masters of the situation. They nominate whom they please; and, in municipal office, they have no use whatever for the community's "best men."

There is force, too, and a great deal of force, in this practical view of the subject. It is true—and for us very sadly true—that the whole underlying political machinery now in common use in American cities (and in Quincy, it may fairly be presumed, like the rest) is admirably adapted—as admirably adapted as if it were so designed—to put control securely in the hands of the professionals. The caucus system supplements the ward system. To be in public life in America,—whether in the National Congress or the city government,—a man must be a member of the political majority in the locality in which he chances to live. A political system better adapted to throwing control into the hands of those who will use it for ulterior and selfish ends, and for keeping the "best men" out of the field of public usefulness, could not be devised: and so it is against this part of the existing political machinery, I submit, that the charter-makers and reformers should now be directing their efforts, rather than in the direction of more ingenious contrivances for the division of functions and the concentration of responsibility. The difficulty is in the basis of representation. We reach our results to-day by the process of counting noses, *pro* and *con*, within the pales of certain geographical ring-fences known as district and ward lines!

The puzzle, therefore, the charter-reformer has to work out, if he is going to get down to the root of the matter, is some practical system which shall secure the utmost political free play to the individual citizen, and the representation of minorities in municipal affairs; having done this,—having thus set individuals free and made minorities potent,—it will be for those composing the minorities to put their hands, as of old, on the shoulders of the "best men," and exact of them compulsory municipal service, those civic tours of public duty.

On this problem the past throws no light. You may search with a conveyancer's care the pages of the Braintree records, or your own record-books of Quincy, but you will find nothing in them to aid you. The environments are all new; the adjustment to those environments must be equally new: but you will be uncomfortable all the same,—you will toss about like Dante's "sick man who cannot find rest upon his bed,"—until that adjustment is effected, and correctly effected. It may, unquestionably it does, seem strange that in a matter of such

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moment the precedents to guide us should be so few,—that no finger-posts exist along the road we must travel. Indeed, were it not plainly so, it would be thought incredible that, after nearly three centuries of active experience, the English-speaking race should in such a matter as local municipal government cling to a system which leaves it to arbitrary geographical lines to supply the basis of representation, instead of seeking it in a common purpose existing among bodies of citizens. It is not easy to conceive of anything more illogical and crude, or, it may be added, more oppressive. But the absence of precedent in no way affects the situation. The situation is bad: nor will the trouble be settled until it is settled right. We are now represented by men because they live in the next street to us, not because they and we, thinking alike on municipal matters, want to act together. It would surely require no great degree of ingenuity to devise a local municipal system under which it would be practicable for a scattered constituency—no longer imprisoned within ward lines so that those composing it may the more conveniently be throttled by ward politicians—so to concentrate itself as to escape complete suppression. It would not be profitable for me to discuss this matter further, for nothing which could be uttered here and now will perceptibly affect results. These things work themselves out by a law of their own; and being impatient or scolding at the slow course of events is of no earthly use. If there is anything good or practicable in what has here been suggested, it will come under the pressure of necessity, and all in good time. Assured of this, we can afford to withdraw our gaze from the lengthening, onward road before us, with confident faith that just as the eighteenth century saw with us a system of compulsory municipal service in accepted and active operation, so the twentieth century will devise for us—if such a thing is really worth devising—some practical method of minority municipal representation which shall restore that system in a shape adapted to existing conditions, by utilizing to the utmost those saving forces of individuality in the citizen which are now ignorantly wasted, where not systematically suppressed.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

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OUR PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM: SCHOOLS OF BUFFALO AND CINCINNATI.

In the October number of the Forum I discussed the general features of our Public-School System, also the Public Schools of Baltimore.

In regard to the American schools in general, I stated that the schools of different localities were very unequal, so much so that while those of some cities had already advanced considerably, those of others were still far behind the age. I attributed this variation largely to the varying degree of excellence in supervision, for the reason that I had discovered during my visits to the schools of thirty-six American cities that, with few exceptions, the schools had advanced directly in proportion to what had been done by the superintendents toward raising the standard of the teachers in their charge. And this circumstance I explained by the fact that licenses to teach are, in the vast majority of instances, granted to persons whose education, both general and pedagogical, is far too limited to enable them to develop the minds of children upon scientific principles,[1] that consequently the vast majority of teachers are still sorely in need of training when they receive their licenses to teach, and that the duty of training them, after being regularly appointed as teachers, devolves upon the superintendent and his assistants.

In relation to the ultimate causes of the varying degree of excellence of the schools I stated in substance the following:

First, the citizens in many cities are utterly indifferent to the affairs of the schools, and, as a result, the school officials are not everywhere sufficiently urged to advance the educational institutions in their charge. Secondly, boards of education in this country are

[1] "Not more than a small percentage of persons engaged in teaching in the public schools of this country are normal-school graduates. Of those teaching (besides the normal-school graduates) some are high-school graduates, others have simply attended a normal school, high school, or academy for one or more terms, while a very large number of licenses to teach are granted to those whose education does not extend beyond that received at a grammar school, with or without a little extra coaching."—*October Forum, page* 151.

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composed of laymen who cannot be expected to know the needs of the schools, and consequently the condition of the schools will depend to a not inconsiderable extent upon whether or not fortune favors them in the selection of a superintendent. Thirdly, in the larger cities a false system of economy is too frequently exercised, as is evidenced by the fact that the number of assistant-superintendents is too small to supervise properly a large corps of teachers. Lastly, the most potent of all causes—politics. When a school system is but a part of the whole municipal machinery—and this is not infrequently the case—the board of education is composed largely of politicians who seek the office of member of the school board for no other reason than that of patronage. Under these circumstances the tendency exists to select superintendents who are willing to follow blindly the dictates of the board, rather than those who, having the welfare of the children at heart, would consent to nothing which might have an unfavorable influence on the schools; in other words, political boards of education have the tendency to select *tools* rather than educational leaders. And where merit is of secondary importance in the selection of superintendents, the same is true in regard to the teachers, those having the most "pull" receiving the earliest and best appointments. And there is nothing which so hampers the work of a superintendent as a school system riddled with incompetent teachers.

In regard to Baltimore, I remarked that I had found the instruction in the public schools of that city extremely unscientific, and a description was given of some of the class-room work to show my reasons for such criticism. I also pointed out the fact that the unfavorable condition of the Baltimore schools was caused by inadequate supervision, untrained teachers, and politics in the Board of Education. In the present article, which will be devoted to the public schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati, I shall again point out the connection between unscientific instruction and inadequate supervision. And, for the study of the baneful influence which politics exert upon the schools, I know of no city that affords so much opportunity as Buffalo. In my next article I shall begin to show the bright side of American education.

The public schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati, like those of Baltimore, belong, in my opinion, to the mechanical order of schools. By mechanical schools I mean those whose aim is to cram the minds of children with words without regard to the things which they repre-

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sent, with abstract ideas without regard to the concrete, and where the instruction appeals to the mechanical memory rather than to the reasoning faculties.

Whether in the present era mechanical instruction be justifiable, that is, whether a teacher be justified in ignoring all that has been done by educational scientists toward placing education upon a rational basis, may be a matter of opinion. But it is certainly not proper for school officials to condemn strongly all that pertains to the mechanical and to indorse warmly the views of educational scientists, and then to convey to the public the impression that they practise in their schools what they preach outside of them, when in truth the schools in their charge are pervaded with just those things which they condemn, while those which they commend cannot be found in them. A striking instance of this nature may be found at Buffalo, and, in order to illustrate my meaning, I shall compare what the superintendent of schools of that city remarks in his annual report of 1889–90, in regard to what schools should do and what they should not do, with the instruction as I found it in the schools in his charge.

The following are extracts from that report:

"In bringing into our present system of instruction the innumerable material objects and the tools with which manual training works out its processes, we must note a strict adherence to the universally accepted psychological law that the concrete should precede the abstract. It goes without saying that a pupil's conception of an idea, embodied in a tangible form, will be infinitely clearer than that of one who tries to grasp it by means of a mere word-picture of it. . . . For youthful minds, any system of education that deals almost wholly with abstractions is not so well adapted to the purposes of a mental discipline as one which employs the lucid and attractive methods of experimental philosophy, as evinced in the working of concrete substances."—*Page* 107.

Following these are words to the effect that there is a tendency on the part of the school to make automatons of children, that there is a necessity of breaking up the extreme uniformity, and that we "must have some regard for the differing assimilative powers of the young and precious minds committed to our charge."

"On every side we see unmistakable evidences of a new adaptation of means to ends, and it would augur ill for the conceded" (by whom conceded?) "advancement of our own school department, were we content to labor with methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity, to make way for new, easier and more successful means of instruction."—*Page* 103.

"—— my desire to keep the school department of our city abreast of the foremost in the race for supremacy."—*Page* 102.

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These remarks indicate that the superintendent of schools of Buffalo desires to convey two distinct impressions: First, that he is among those who favor natural development—teaching upon psychological principles—and that he is strongly opposed to all methods which savor of the mechanical. Secondly, that in all things short of manual training, the teaching in the public schools of Buffalo is not only conducted upon psychological principles, but that natural teaching had nowhere reached a higher stage of development than in the schools of that city, and consequently that no schools had done more than these toward discarding "methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity." How otherwise can we construe the words "my desire to keep the school department of our city abreast of the foremost in the race for supremacy"?

I shall now describe some of the teaching that I witnessed in the public schools of Buffalo, in order to give the reader an opportunity to judge for himself how well the claim of superiority bears the test of actual investigation.[1]

In a school which has the reputation of being one of the best in the city, I attended two lessons in geography, one in the fourth and the other in the sixth grade, which on account of their peculiar nature should not be passed by unnoticed.

First, the fourth-grade lesson. This lesson was divided into two parts, a written and an oral. During the written part, the children wrote upon their slates the answers to map-questions, which the teacher read to them from the text-book in the order in which they were printed. After some twenty questions had been asked and answered in this manner, the teacher said: "That will do for the present; now let us see how many missed." She then told the class the correct answers, and while she did so the children looked at their slates in order to see how many misses they had made. When all the answers had been given the teacher inquired, "How many had all right? How many missed one? How many missed two?" etc., etc.

This process completed, the teacher remarked: "Now we will have that lesson orally, and let us see how many will miss."

During the written lesson nothing worth speaking of was done

[1] I beg to call the attention of the reader to the fact that as I visited the schools of Buffalo very soon after the new superintendent entered upon the duties of his office, he was in no way responsible for the condition of the schools at the time, and that consequently my remarks are not intended to reflect upon him.

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besides that which I have mentioned. In the oral part the same questions were asked as in the written part, the only difference between the oral and the written lesson being that in the one the answers were spoken, while in the other they were written.

In the sixth grade the subject of the lesson was California. During this recitation no text-book was used by the teacher. The teacher opened the lesson with the question, "How long does it take to go to California?" Then correcting herself, she said, "No, tell me first why you would like to go to California," though no one had expressed any particular desire to go there.

"I should like to take a drive around the mountains," answered one of the children.

"I should like to see the Golden Gate," said another.

This answer was followed by a cry of "chestnuts," from one of the boys. This remark did not, however, attract the attention of the teacher. In fact, during the entire lesson there was a complete absence of discipline.

After the children had given their reasons for desiring to go to California, the teacher remarked, "Now tell me how long it takes to go there."

In reply to this all sorts of guesses were made, the lowest being five days and the highest seven weeks.

At last a little girl said: "I know. My mamma went to California last winter. She started on a Thursday evening——"

This manner of solving the problem did not, however, appear to meet with unanimous approval, as the child's remarks were cut short by a cry of "Come off."

Unfortunately, to the teacher herself, the whole subject of California appeared to be involved in as deep a mystery as the language of the Hindoos. Indeed, the children appeared to do more toward the enlightenment of the teacher than the latter did to enlighten them. Nevertheless, she finally put an end to the agonizing suspense by saying, "I think it would take about a week."

"Through what cities would you pass in travelling from Buffalo to California?" was the next question.

"Chicago," said one of the children.

"Let me see," the teacher remarked, as she walked to the wall map, to verify the answer. When other cities were mentioned, she did the same thing.

"What can you tell me about San Francisco?" she asked later.

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"It is the largest city in California," a pupil replied.

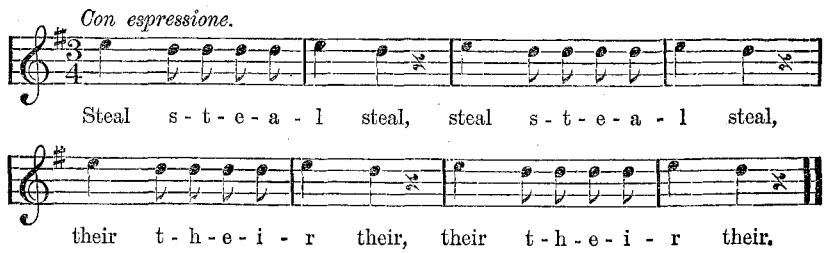
"It is one of the largest, but I don't know that it is the largest," said the teacher.

This ridiculous recitation was closed with the reading of an extract from an article on California which one of the children had found in an encyclopædia.

In one of the other schools that I visited the pedagogical absurdities were numerous, but in describing the work which I observed there, I shall, for the purpose of economizing space, confine my remarks to the curiosities which I found in one of the lower grades.

The first thing I heard in that room was a spelling-lesson. The teacher informed me that it was to be a new lesson, and that I should therefore have the opportunity to learn her method of teaching spelling. The teacher announced the lesson by telling the children to turn to a certain page in their reading-books.

When all the little ones were ready, they began to spell in concert, and continued doing so, until the list of words on that page was completed. Each word was spelled twice in succession and in a sing-song so marked that it resulted in a well-defined melody. As the effect cannot be reproduced in words alone, I shall give the music, as well as the words. The words "steal" and "their," for example, were sung as follows:



When the children had sung all the words in the list, they were told to spell them once more. They then repeated the whole process

After the words had been spelled in this manner for the second time, the lesson took a new turn. The children were now told to close their books, and when this had been done the teacher heard them spell individually the words that they had just studied in concert. When all the words had been spelled by the children individually, I expected to hear another subject announced, but I learned to my utter amazement that the pupils were to be treated to a third course; for the teacher here remarked:

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"We will now write the words."

This announcement was followed by a considerable amount of bustle and confusion on the part of the children, and order was not restored until slates, pencils, and rulers had been placed in position. When all was quiet, one of the pupils called out,

"I ain't got no ruler."

In answer to this the teacher, without correcting the child's language, said,

"You don't need a ruler. Do it the way you *done* it yesterday."

Then the words of the oft-repeated list were slowly dictated by the teacher. When the word "steal" was reached, she remarked:

"Spell the 'steal' you spelled this morning, not the 'steel' you spelled yesterday."

When the word "their" was reached, the teacher asked, "How do you spell 'their'?"

"T-h-e-i-r—their," sang the children.

"What kind of a 't' do you use in *their?*"

"Capital 't,'" one of the pupils answered.

"That's right," said the teacher.

One of the children here interposed:

sang another.

Here the teacher said to me, "They don't use capital letters regularly in this class; I only let them use capitals when they write proper names and proper *things*."

At last the spelling was over, and a lesson in arithmetic was begun. The first example the teacher gave them was the following: $6 - 2 + 4 = ?$

After the children had written this upon their slates, motions were made by them which indicated that they had had a considerable amount of experience in counting upon their fingers. One boy displayed quite an original method of calculating. He performed the example in this way: he made six strokes upon his slate, rubbed out

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two of them, added four strokes to those remaining, and finished by counting the number of strokes then on his slate. It was all done with remarkable rapidity. When a number of examples had been performed the teacher said:

"Now I will give you one in subtraction. You know that's the kind you have to borrow in."

I visited a number of classes in this building, and before leaving it I saw things which convinced me that the pedagogical skill of other teachers employed there was not much above that displayed by the one whose work I have just described.

Space will not permit me to enter further into the detailed description of Buffalo's class-room work. Indeed, it were needless to do so, for, owing to the general uniformity of methods in vogue in the public schools of that city, their general characteristic features may be summed up in a few words. An exception here and there among seven hundred teachers does not alter the rule.

A subject on which much stress is laid and which may be regarded as standing, to a great extent, in the same relation to the schools of Buffalo as arithmetic does to those of Baltimore, is spelling. So much importance is attached to this subject that even the five-year-old children are taxed with spelling-lessons twenty to twenty-five minutes in duration. One of the teachers while speaking to me upon the subject said:

"I do wish we would return to the alphabet method of teaching reading, because those children who know their alphabet progress most rapidly in spelling."

Geography, a subject which, when treated scientifically, can not only be made very interesting, but can do much toward exercising the reasoning faculties, is taught by the "cramming" process, true instruction being substituted by mere lesson-hearing. Indeed, the scientific teaching of geography is an art, while the process of simply hearing children recite the geography lessons which they have studied can be undertaken by any one able to read. The methods employed in teaching technical grammar to the younger children are anything but modern. Reading is taught by the word method, a method which when used without the aid of phonics (as is the case at Buffalo) does less to develop mental power and more to waste time than any that I know of, excepting, *perhaps*, the alphabet method. Arithmetic is taught in an almost purely abstract manner from the very beginning. And even physics—which is studied in the highest grade—is

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taught not by the experimental, but by the text-book method. In fact, taken all in all, I found very little in the public schools of Buffalo to indicate that in that city "methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity" had made way for "new, easier and more successful means of instruction." Indeed, I found but few cities where so little had been done toward lightening the burdens of the children—and particularly the younger ones—by discarding abstract and subjective in favor of objective and experimental methods.

The causes of the deplorable condition of the public schools of Buffalo are the same as those which were mentioned as leading to a similar condition of affairs at Baltimore, namely: politics, untrained teachers, and scanty supervision.

In regard to politics, the schools of Buffalo are even more deeply involved than those of Baltimore. In the latter city there is simply a close connection between schools and politics, while in Buffalo they are one. This is true not only of the Board of Education, but also of the superintendent and, to a great extent, the teachers.

That the Board of Education is a purely political body is evidenced by the fact that it is constituted by a *Committee of Seven of the Common Council.* As for the superintendent, he is elected directly by the people, and must, therefore, almost necessarily be a politician. And when we consider that the superintendent who is elected by the people has the sole power to appoint teachers, it becomes clear that political influence is liable to play a very important part in their appointment. Until recently matters were apparently still worse, as the superintendent had the sole power to examine as well as appoint teachers; and what is more, he had full power to regulate the character of the examination, without being restricted, as far as I can learn, to any fixed minimum. The result is that a large number of incompetent teachers have found their way into the schools of Buffalo; in fact, only a comparatively small number of Buffalo's teachers are normal-school graduates.

The supervision itself is of the scantiest, the City Superintendent being the only supervising officer, although there are seven hundred teachers in the system. What can a single person do toward raising the standard of seven hundred teachers? Were he to devote all his time and energy to this end he could accomplish but little, and how much less can he do when a portion of his time and energy must necessarily be spent in work connected with his office

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from which the teacher can receive no direct benefit, and when another portion of his time and energy must be spent in "pulling wires" and otherwise working toward a re-election? When all these things are considered—supervision, office-work, and electioneering—we find that (speaking with mathematical accuracy) Buffalo has, for the purpose of supervising and raising the standard of seven hundred teachers, not even one, but only one-third of one superintendent.

An action was recently taken at Buffalo which it was believed would lead to the improvement of the schools; namely, a board was established for the purpose of examining candidates for teachers' positions and exercising a sort of general supervision over the schools. But there are a number of reasons why this board is liable to do as little toward raising the standard of the schools of Buffalo as a drop of water to swell the Atlantic Ocean. First, the board is composed of laymen, and consequently of persons not qualified to inquire into the true competency of a teacher, true competency depending upon a knowledge of just those things of which laymen are supposed to know nothing; namely, psychology and pedagogy, the sciences upon which scientific teaching is founded. Secondly, the board has not the power to examine candidates as it sees fit, but only to formulate questions within certain limits prescribed by the superintendent, who, as before, is privileged to make the standard as low as he chooses. Besides, this officer still retains the power to appoint teachers, the only restriction now laid upon him being that the appointments must be made from among those who passed the examination of the board with an average of seventy per cent or over, without, however, being obliged to regard the order of merit.

Under these circumstances I fail to perceive why the superintendent should not conduct the examinations as heretofore, the advantage derived by an examination of the board over one given by the superintendent being a mystery to me. It is true that an examination by the board will prevent cheating on the part of the superintendent. But it certainly reflects badly upon the city itself, if it feels the need of creating a board to watch a man who, above all others, should be scrupulously honest.

Besides, as has been pointed out, the quality of the schools does not depend nearly so much upon what the teachers know at the time of their appointment, as it does upon what is done toward educating them professionally after their appointment. It is true that the members of the Board of Examiners are obliged to exercise a general

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supervision over the schools. But if they are expected to do anything toward raising the standard of the teachers, which is the true essence of supervision, then they are supposed, as laymen, to be able to instruct teachers in the science of education and the art of teaching, which but renders their position doubly absurd.

It follows that something much more radical must be done before the schools of Buffalo may be expected to improve to an appreciable extent. As the causes of the evils in Buffalo—politics, untrained teachers, and scanty supervision—are identical with those which were found at Baltimore, I can but suggest identical remedies for their eradication. To rid the schools of politics nothing but a complete reorganization of the whole school system will suffice, for the reason that at Buffalo they enter into every branch of the system. And to remedy the evils arising from incompetent teachers, I know of but one thing that can be relied upon, namely, thorough supervision, that is, supervision the object of which is to raise the standard of the teachers by instructing them in the theory of education and in practical teaching. For this purpose a supervisory staff of five or six educational experts, who would direct all their time and energies toward giving the teachers their much-needed training, would be essential. The present superintendent, as I learned during a conversation with him, favors efficient supervision, and if he receives the support of the citizens in carrying out his plans in this direction, there is no doubt that before many years elapse the schools of Buffalo will have scored a material advance.

The schools of Cincinnati are, in my opinion, upon much the same level as those of Baltimore and Buffalo, as little having been done here as in the other two cities toward substituting objective and experimental, for subjective, abstract, and mechanical methods of instruction. It is true that principals and teachers who endeavor to obtain results by more rational means may here and there be found, but this is no less true of Baltimore and Buffalo.

To review in detail the methods of instruction employed in the schools of Cincinnati would, therefore, be but to repeat in substance much of that which was mentioned while speaking of the schools of Baltimore and Buffalo. I have said all, generally speaking, when I remark that the schools of Cincinnati have as yet scarcely opened their doors to the "New Education."

But there are a number of things besides mechanical methods

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which serve to render miserable the lives of the children attending the public schools of Cincinnati. The child requires air and sunshine, but many of the buildings are dark and gloomy, and in many of them the laws of health are otherwise ignored, the class-rooms being overcrowded and poorly ventilated. I found one room where the furniture was so closely packed that the children were literally obliged to squeeze their little bodies in between the desks and the backs of their benches, there being scarcely room enough for them to expand their lungs, much less to move about their limbs freely. In another room the seats were so arranged that a few of the children were obliged to sit very near a large stove. And, to cap the climax, corporal punishment still reigns supreme in the public schools of Cincinnati.

And yet we hear the Board sing its song of praise. We hear it congratulate itself upon its own magnificence, and the citizens of Cincinnati upon their good fortune in securing a board so wonderful and teachers so fine. The following extracts from the Report of the President of the Board of Education for the year ending August 31, 1891, published in the Sixty-second Annual Report of the Public Schools of Cincinnati, will show that this is no exaggeration. I reproduce the words here, believing that they will scarcely fail to interest the *careful* reader, if for no other reason than that they were written by one who is at the head of a public-school system.

"While we justly take credit to ourselves—that is, the Board—for our new buildings, and for the excellent financial condition of the Board, and for all those things that, but for which it might not be possible to accomplish the good we do, or be able to congratulate ourselves upon our great Public School system; yet after all is said and done—after all of the school-houses are built and all of the money necessary provided and spent—what would it all go for, what credit to any one, if the end to be served was not realized? What is that end? The education of the youth of our city. To learn, one must be taught or teach themselves. The child, being too young to educate itself, must be taught. To be taught, one must have a teacher, and there we are brought to the shrine before which the whole Public School system must bow—the work of the teacher. All the other matters are but incidental—are but the means to the end—to the crowning work of the teacher.

"When we consider the system, we look only for the results—we think not of the buildings occupied, not of the amount of money expended, not of the care exercised in its expenditure, not of the personnel of the Board of Education. We'll not be thought of in connection with the schools fifty years hence—not of the great financiers—all excellent and to be commended.

"It is not that the Building Committee shall be glorified and their names go down into coming time emblazoned on the front of the new buildings; it is not that the Committee on Funds and Claims shall wear the laurel wreath of the victor over the difficult financial questions; not that the Committee on Heating,

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Fixtures, and Fuel shall properly make things warm. No, no, none of these things stand as representative of the system of public instruction; but it is the result of the whole, and the one nearest that result is the one through whose direct efforts the result is reached; *that one is the teacher*. We point to the graduate from our High Schools as the representative of our Public School system. He is the presumed embodiment of all that goes to make us the name we have. He is the result of the teachers' work. It is the teachers' work which makes the record; which commands the praise; which earns and is entitled to the highest appreciation. It is that which will live and benefit coming generations. The education of the youth, that is the end sought; that reached, crowns our success.

"And so here I give to the teachers, to the instructors, to the educators, the larger part of the praise for the magnificent results secured during the year. From the opening of the Normal School to the close of the school year, they have been earnest in their work, faithful and attentive to their duties."

. . . . . .

"In concluding this report, as the President of the Board, I wish to publicly express my sincere thanks to the members for the kindness and courtesy shown me on all occasions during the past year. The assistance rendered me by the members has materially lightened the duties of my office. The Board of Education is entitled to the encouragement and the confidence of the people of Cincinnati.

"We believe that the trust confided to our care has been carefully and judiciously managed and that every act and deed of the Board will bear the closest scrutiny and inspection."

. . . . . .

"I again express my appreciation of courtesies shown me by the members of the Board of Education, in whose behalf this report is respectfully submitted."

I shall now relate a few of my Cincinnati class-room experiences, in order to show why I cannot indorse the sentiments expressed by the president.

The most striking peculiarity of the Cincinnati schools exists, in my opinion, in the fact that so much time is devoted to concert recitations, a form of instruction than which there is none so preëminently fitted to deaden the soul and to convert human beings into automatons. These recitations are heard, as a rule, as soon as a District (Primary) School building is entered, and in tones so loud that the uninitiated might readily mistake them for signals of distress.

My experiences of this nature were frequent. In one of the schools I heard upon entering the building sounds unusually shrill coming from one of the class-rooms, and being prompted by my desire to know the true cause of so much commotion, I entered the room from whence they came.

What did I see? Only this: a teacher and about a dozen pupils standing before a blackboard which was covered with lists of words,

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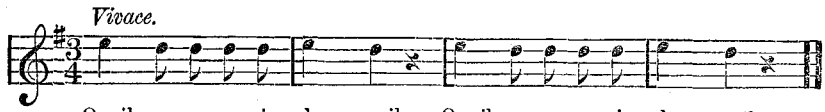
spelling the word "Quail" at the top of their voices, and in melodious tones, thus:



When the teacher found occasion to take a moment's rest, she said to me:

"These are my poorest spellers; they always need an extra drilling. *Quail* appears to be a very difficult word for them to remember. I must give them a little more drill upon it."

She then returned to the blackboard and told the children to continue. As a signal for them to start, she pointed with her stick to the letter Q, and after they had begun she swept the stick from left to right along the word "Quail," endeavoring in this manner to keep them in time while they were spelling the word. To keep them in time was, however, no easy matter. They kept together fairly well until they had spelled the word two or three times, but after that their voices became ever more independent, so that soon a regular medley ensued, some calling out the word "Quail," while others had only reached the letter "l," and still others had gone no further than "i."

The "mystery of the strange sounds" was solved.

When the word "Quail" had been earnestly, thoroughly, and conscientiously studied, the word "Market" was begun. Although the spelling of this word was carried on upon the same principles as those which governed the spelling of the word "Quail," nevertheless the monotony was broken, for the reason that both the melody and the *tempo* were changed. While "Quail" was sung rapidly and with much spirit, "Market" was sung slowly and plaintively, thus:

After a few more words had been studied in this manner the teacher said that she would let me hear the whole class read.

The sentence, "Is it a quail, John?" had previously been written upon another blackboard, and the teacher asked the children to read it together.

"Read it backward first," she said.

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The children then read the words as the teacher pointed to them with her *baton*, and after they had read the sentence backward and forward, they spelled all the words contained in it. The teacher endeavored to keep them in time by sweeping her stick across each word while the children were spelling it, as she had done in the other case. The effect, as near as I can reproduce it, was as follows:

Moderato.
Allegro.
John, quail, a it is, is it a quail, John? i - s is, i - s is,
i - t it, i - t it, a, a, a, a q - u - a - i - l quail,
q - u - a - i - l quail, cap-'tal J - o - h - n John, cap-'tal J - o - h - n John.

"You don't spell 'John' very well yet," the teacher now remarked. "Let us try it over again, but don't sing it."

She then spelled the word for the class, immediately, however, falling into the sing-song which she had told the children to avoid. After she had sung it alone two or three times, the voices of the children began to chime in, but she continued to spell with them. While teaching the children to spell the word "John," she adopted a different plan of leading them. She now beat time, and this she did most comically, by bringing her hands (with the backs upward) as near to her shoulders as possible, when she pronounced the word "capital," and thrusting them forcibly forward when she uttered the "J."

"I do have so much trouble in getting these children to recite together," the teacher afterward said to me.

If such teaching represents education upon psychological principles, it is not at all surprising that so many persons should be opposed to modern methods.

In one of the other classes that I visited in this school, some of the children were reading, while others were writing. After hearing some of them read, the teacher said to me:

"Now I will let one of those engaged in writing read for you. I always like to see whether they can read what they write. They copy

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the words from the board, you know, and so I am not always sure that they can read what they write." She then said to one of the children:

"Lucy, read what's on your slate for that *there* gentleman."

Lucy then came forward courageously and read this thrilling tale: "The cows feed on the grass. At night they come to the barn."

It must not be supposed that the above-described method of teaching spelling is confined to this one school. Indeed, my observations led me to believe that this method is commonly used in the schools of Cincinnati.

A reading-lesson that I attended in the third-year class of another school presented some special features, though the method in itself was typical.

The lesson was announced soon after I entered the room. When the children had all placed their books upon the desks, the teacher said:

"Position! Books in your left hands; right hands behind your backs!"

The lesson was conducted as follows: One child was called upon to read a paragraph, then another pupil was told to read the same paragraph over again, and lastly, this paragraph was read by the class in concert. The same course was pursued in all the paragraphs read. Taken all in all, this reading sounded like a piece of music consisting of a solo, an echo, and a chorus. How interesting the story must have been to the children!

In one of the pieces read the word "merchant" appeared.

"What is a merchant?" the teacher inquired after one of the children had read the word.

"A merchant is a tailor," answered one.

"A merchant is a man what keeps dry-goods stores," said another.

"A merchant is a man what buys cheap and kin sell dear," remarked a third.

At last a little boy, with a triumphant air, cried out, "A merchant is a man what sells goods."

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The teacher corrected none of these mistakes in language; but when one of the children had read the sentence, "I broke the glass and I will pay for it," the teacher said, "What mistake did he make?"

"Teacher," answered one, "he said 'glass' and he ought a said 'glars.'"

"Right," said the teacher.

It is teaching of this nature that the President of Cincinnati's Board of Education calls magnificent. But what this teaching shows beyond the fact that the teachers are not illiterates it is difficult to perceive.

In searching for the causes of the evils in the Cincinnati public schools we are confronted at the outset with our old acquaintance—scanty supervision, there being but one man to supervise and professionally educate seven hundred teachers, but one person to do the work of half a dozen.

As far as politics are concerned, the schools of Cincinnati are not so obviously involved as those of Baltimore and Buffalo. Until a few years ago, however, the politicians were in possession of the schools; that they abused their power is only too well known in Cincinnati, and it cannot be doubted that the old Board is responsible for many of the evils found in the schools of that city to-day. The power to appoint teachers, which is now in the hands of the superintendent, was then in the hands of the members of the Board, and during the reign of the politicians many incompetent teachers were brought into the schools. As Cincinnati has an exceptionally stable corps of teachers, not more than five or six per cent of changes occurring annually, the vast majority of those appointed years ago are still in the schools. This circumstance may, in large part, account for the fact that although during the past few years scarcely any but graduates of the Cincinnati Normal School have been appointed, the corps of teachers on the whole is still so obviously lacking in professional qualification.

But, after all, to fix the responsibility for the evils is of much less importance than to remedy them. As the most flagrant evils found in the schools of Cincinnati are due to the professional incompetency of the teachers, the chief remedy for Cincinnati's school evils lies in rendering the teachers competent by giving them a professional education. To educate them thoroughly, Cincinnati, as Buffalo, would require a supervisory staff consisting of five or six educational experts.

J. M. Rice.

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ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE McKINLEY TARIFF.

To criticise the commercial policy of another country is in general as useless as it is ungracious. If the two countries are at one in their policy, it is needless; if they are at variance, any criticism will be regarded with suspicion. It is the honest creed of free-traders that absolute freedom of exchange between any two countries is good for both, and that if one of them sets up a fixed barrier against the other it may injure both, but will injure itself the more. But to preach this doctrine where it is not accepted leads to irritation rather than to conviction ; and where it is preached with a conscious air of superior wisdom human nature recalcitrates. English apostles of free trade have done serious injury to their own cause by presuming to teach other nations, and have given to interested opponents the opportunity for imputations not the less telling because they are wholly unfounded. The poor Cobden Club, which has difficulty in scraping together subscriptions sufficient to pay for the issue of its publications and which has even given up the expense of its annual dinner, is credited with the expenditure of millions in order to bribe foreigners to buy English goods; and perfidious Albion is supposed to be intriguing for the ruin of foreign industries, when she is only doing her best to promote those industries by facilitating the exchange of their products and of her own. It is, therefore, not without reluctance that, being a convinced free-trader of old standing and a hearty well-wisher of the closer union of the two great branches of the English-speaking race, I have consented, on the special request of the editor of the FORUM, to try to put on paper in a form suitable to Americans a faint reflection of some of the thoughts current in Great Britain on the present controversy concerning commercial policy in the United States.

There can be no doubt that the first result of the McKinley tariff legislation was to create a disagreeable feeling toward the United States, both in this country and in Europe generally. It dazzled both the friends and foes of protection. It frightened foreign protectionist countries in Europe and British protectionist colonies into very odd and angry recrimination against a policy which was virtually their

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own. It drew a homily on the evils of prohibition from our own protectionist newspapers. It made some of our light-headed protectionists chuckle with boyish delight over the help which an angry spirit of retaliation might be expected to give to their pet projects of protection. It led even graver and more responsible authorities to attribute to its promoters feelings of hostility to this country, when, in all probability, its promoters were wholly absorbed in domestic log-rolling. But those in England to whom it caused the greatest sorrow were those who are the most ardent well-wishers of the United States, not as a separate nationality, but as the biggest, if not the oldest member of the great British family; those who desire that the English-speaking races, and especially those who inhabit the British Isles, the United States, and British North America, should be joined together—not by the formal bonds of law or treaty, but by every possible tie of common institutions, common feelings, and common interests as well as by a common history. To such persons it was a matter of deep regret to find that the great British Republic on the other side the Atlantic was consummating a policy the professed object of which was to place a barrier between its own markets and the workshops of manufacturing England, and to place an equally effectual barrier between its own swarming population and the teeming seas, the fruitful plains, and the abundant forests of Canada.

Further reflection somewhat modified these impressions. It was seen that the McKinley law, preposterous as it might seem to English free-traders, was only the natural and logical outcome of the economical policy which the United States has been pursuing ever since its Civil War. Taxes on consumption, proposed originally for purposes of revenue, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, were found to protect particular interests, and those interests succeeded in getting them continued and extended. Other interests, prejudiced by this protection, demanded protection too, and obtained it, until the whole country was enveloped in a web of protection, and the only unprotected industries were those in which the United States need fear no competition. Those who were acquainted with the history of the American tariff as written by Mr. F. W. Taussig had no reason to be astonished at the chapter added to that history by the McKinley law. Those who, like Sir Lyon Playfair and others, had the best opportunity of knowing the feelings prevalent in America, were the least astonished. The following is a vivid picture of the then state of feeling in the United States, drawn by one of the ablest of the many able

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and agreeable Americans who have recently honoured us with their presence. He said to me: "I am a man of —— [naming an agricultural State], and all my farming neighbours have their lives made costly to them by our system of protection; but I shall go to my nearest neighbour and say to him, 'Sir, I am going to agitate for the overthrow of our republican institutions and the introduction of despotism,' and he will reply, 'Agitate if you please, sir; I have my farm to manage.' And then I shall go to him and say, 'I am going to destroy the Christian religion and to introduce atheism and anarchy,' and he will say quietly to me, 'Destroy it if you will; that is no business of mine.' But then I shall go to him and say, 'I am going to advocate a moderate reduction of our enormous protective duties,' and he will get up at once, exclaiming, 'Then, sir, I shall go and get down my rifle.' And yet," said my friend, "it will not be long, I cannot tell how long, before our people will look back upon this delusion of protection just as we now look back upon our forefathers' belief in witchcraft."

"Belief in witchcraft"! Yes, indeed! Some future Lecky who records the superstitions of the nineteenth century will have to tell of one of the most intelligent and democratic nations of the world—how it practised the most absolute free trade throughout the wide borders of a continent, and yet limited this beneficent exchange by the colour of a bit of bunting; how, while suffering even more than England from the extremes of wealth, it worshipped a policy which made the rich richer and the poor poorer; how it built harbours and railways and repelled the goods which would use them; how it sought for exports, but refused the imports by which alone they could be purchased; how it needed and invited foreign capital, but made the use of it dearer by rejecting the material substances in which capital is embodied.

Extremes often bring about reaction. It soon became apparent that the McKinley tariff, in putting the coping-stone on the fabric of protection, had made manifest its faulty construction and its hideous proportions. When women, in their daily shopping, found that they had to give ever so much more for pearl buttons, underclothing, furniture materials, and other articles of daily use, and the reason given, rightly or wrongly, was the McKinley tariff, it probably did more to open the eyes of fathers and husbands than all the vast "unseen" evils of wholesale protection and prohibition against which philosophers have protested.

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As regards opinion in the United Kingdom, the English Board of Trade helped sober reflection by a carefully written memorandum, published in its Journal of December, 1890, on the probable effects of the new tariff. This memorandum pointed out that certain important articles, *e.g.*, sugar, had been transferred to the free list, that the whole of the dutiable articles in the tariff amounted to about half the imports of the United States, that upon these articles the duties were increased from about forty to fifty per cent, that the increased duties applied principally to five classes of imports, viz., metals and manufactures of metals; tobacco and manufactures of tobacco; agricultural products; flax, hemp, and jute and manufactures thereof; wool and manufactures of wool, the value of which was about £44,000,000 out of a total value of £78,000,000 of dutiable goods imported, and a total value of imports, dutiable and free, of £148,000,000. The Board of Trade memorandum further pointed out that the proportion of exports of British produce affected by the new tariff was about half of our whole exports to the United States, or, if our invisible exports in the form of the use of shipping were included, much less than half; and it then proceeded to discuss the particular effect of the most important of the increased duties, viz., those on tin plates; on cutlery; on wool and woollen manufactures; and on textiles of flax, hemp, and jute. On these points figures derived from actual experience are given below.

In fact, the additions made by the McKinley tariff to the burdens already thrown on trade by the previous tariff were, comparatively speaking, a small matter. When duties of twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, and even sixty per cent were already levied upon most of the important products of manufacturing industry, the new additions were seen to be in themselves a comparatively small thing, and though not unimportant in actual effect, of much more importance in their apparent principle. I say apparent principle, because it is difficult for Englishmen to appreciate accurately the motives and principles which may have actuated the Government and people of the United States, more especially when much of the legislation in question may be due to the intrigues which protection necessarily invites and encourages. But so far as a judgment can be formed from the tariff itself, the general object of its framers seems to have been the opposite of that which has prevailed in England. To raise revenue is the sole object of the English tariff. In raising whatever revenue may be needed, duties are levied in the United Kingdom either on foreign articles

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which are not produced at home or, when import duties are levied on articles which are also produced at home, to tax the home product equally with the foreign product. On the other hand, increase of revenue was, of course, not the object, as it has not been the result, of the McKinley law. The McKinley tariff, following previous American tariffs, seeks, so far as we are able to judge, to carry out an opposite principle, the principle, namely, of excluding the foreign competitor from the American market and placing the American purchaser at the mercy of the American producer; and with this object it levies heavier and ever heavier duties on the import of all foreign articles which are also produced at home.

The English principle is to cause the least possible interference with trade and to raise the maximum of revenue. The American principle is to cause the maximum interference with trade and to disregard revenue. This last principle is relentlessly carried out, not only in the tariff itself, but in the elaborate inquisitorial and, so far as I know, unprecedented provisions of the accompanying legislation for official inquiry into the country of origin and into the price and cost of imported goods. At the same time it was seen that the measure was not simply and exclusively protective. The placing of sugar, coffee, tea, and hides upon the free list, with a power to the President to impose duties on them when imported from any country that imposed duties on United States products which he might consider unequal or unreasonable, was seen to be a considerable step toward free commercial intercourse with countries producing these articles, on the footing of reciprocity; and reciprocity, though on the part of a free-trade country like England a step toward protection, is on the part of a protectionist country like the United States a step toward free trade. It was seen, too, that this part of the tariff was favourable to British West India interests, which have hitherto found, in the great sugar market of the United States, some compensation for the loss of European markets, in which they have suffered much from the competition of Continental beet-root sugar.

Admitting, however, the ultra-protectionist character of the new tariff, there is another view of its effect taken by many Englishmen, free-traders as well as others, the tendency of which is to qualify or neutralise their dislike of American protection. These persons think, probably with justice, that in the competition between the United States and the United Kingdom in the neutral markets of the world the United States is now hampered by its protectionist policy; and

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many of them further think that if the United States adopts a *régime* of free trade, its competition will injure the manufacturers of the United Kingdom in neutral markets more than free commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and the United States will benefit them in the United States market. Such persons point to the present state of the American, as compared with the British mercantile marine, as an instance of the way in which American industry has been hampered by a protective tariff, and to the comparatively small part which American manufactures play in American exports, a part which appears to be becoming less and less under the McKinley tariff.

On the subject of shipping it is needless for me to quote figures. As regards exports I find, as I write, the following figures in the London "Times" of the 19th August: Total value of exports of domestic produce from the United States, July 1 to June 30, in 1890–91, £174,453,000; in 1891–92, £203,147,000; out of which the value of manufactures was £33,785,000 and £31,903,000, thus showing not only a very small proportionate export of manufactures, but an actual falling off of export of manufactures in the year when the tariff came into full operation, and when the aggregate exports of the United States increased enormously.

I am not disposed myself to attach too much importance to such facts as these. The tariff has no doubt a very serious effect in hampering American ship-building and American manufactures generally. But I suspect that a still more important factor in the comparatively slow growth of the American mercantile marine is to be found in the fact that the energy and resources of the United States have during the last fifty years been devoted to developing their immense continent, leaving the ocean to British enterprise; and that in like manner the principal factor in the growth of their agricultural as compared with their manufacturing exports has been their natural capacity for producing breadstuffs and similar products. Nor am I disposed to fear American competition in neutral markets. Free intercourse and free competition would, I believe, tend to bring out the special capacities of both nations, and though the natural advantages of the American continent may give its inhabitants larger prospects in certain industries, there will be others in which the inhabitants of the old country will not be behind. It has been well said that as civilization progresses the demand for mere necessaries of life is limited, while the demand for luxuries and comforts, in other words, for the more advanced products of industry, is capable of infinite increase; so that

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there will always be a future for a country which, like the United Kingdom, possesses the most advanced and specialised forms of manufacture. It is quite possible that Pennsylvania or Alabama might be able to lay down pig-iron in Liverpool at a cost which would enable it to compete with British iron, and yet that Sheffield or Birmingham, if unhampered by tariffs, might be able to sell cutlery and hardware in New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Asia or South America. The United States may, in adopting free trade, have more to gain than England; but England will, I believe, by such adoption gain also. Be this as it may, the increased competition of the United States, in case of their throwing protection overboard, must be admitted to be an element in the formation of English opinion on the American tariff, and with many persons it is a preponderating element.

The first impression made by the McKinley tariff was much modified by the above considerations. It remains to see what light subsequent facts throw upon the case. In considering the following statistics concerning the export trade of the United Kingdom as affected by the tariff, it must be remembered that, after all, any tariff, however stringent, is but one, and that not the most important, factor in determining the amount of trade; that the McKinley tariff was only the complement of a system of protection already in existence, and that the time has not yet come when we can confidently speak of final results.

Of all the cases affected by the tariff, that of tin plates is the most remarkable. A new duty was imposed on them amounting to one hundred and twenty per cent ad valorem; but this duty did not take effect until July 1, 1891. Tin plates are largely used for the canning of articles of food, and when these are exported from the United States a drawback is given equal to the duty imposed on the tin plates used in the package. The export of tin plates from the United Kingdom to the United States has been a very large and growing industry. Of the whole export of tin plates from the United Kingdom, amounting to two hundred and eighteen thousand tons in 1880 and to four hundred and thirty thousand in 1889, the United States took one hundred and sixty-four thousand tons, or about three-quarters, in 1880, and three hundred and thirty-six thousand, or rather more than the same proportion, in 1889. The value of this export in 1889 was four million six hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of our whole exports of British

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and Irish produce to the United States. The value of the trade since the adoption of the tariff has been as follows: The exports of tin plates to the United States for the complete years were—

1889.	1890.	1891.
£4,674,000	£4,786,000	£5,240,000

and for the six months ending June 30—

1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
£2,459,000	£2,088,000	£4,368,000	£1,928,000

From this it will be seen that the immediate effect of the new duty was enormously to increase the export in apprehension of the duty; so that the exports for the first half of 1891 were more than twice what they were in the first half of the preceding year; that the exports for the whole of 1891, including the six months during which the tariff had been in operation, were larger in value than those of any preceding year; and that the exports for the first half of 1892, though of course very much below those of the first half of 1891, were, in spite of accumulated imports and in spite of the tariff, nearly as great as they had been in 1890 before the tariff came into operation. This does not look as if the effect of the tariff had been to create an American manufacture, to substitute an American for a British product in the American markets, or to diminish British exports. What the effect may have been or may hereafter be in disturbing the natural course of trade, in injuring the canning business of the United States, or in raising the price of canned articles to the people of the United States, it is no business of mine to inquire, as I desire only to look at the matter from a British point of view.

On pen and pocket knives the McKinley tariff imposes a very heavy increase of duty, whilst on other articles of cutlery there is probably a rise, but one of which it is difficult to trace the amount. The former duty on these articles was, however, very heavy, viz., from fifty per cent to thirty-five per cent ad valorem, and our export to the United States was a small affair compared to our total export of hardware and cutlery, which was in 1890 about £3,000,000. Such as it was, however, it has been adversely affected. The following are the figures of the exports of hardware and cutlery from the United Kingdom to the United States, in values:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£400,474	£393,309	£241,650

Nor are there any present symptoms of revival.

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Upon wools and woollen goods the McKinley tariff largely increased the previous heavy duties. It is difficult to follow its effect through the changes in classification, but in 1890 the English Board of Trade[1] estimated the increase upon the whole as being from fifty-nine to seventy-eight per cent ad valorem; the increase on the raw material as being from thirty-four to forty per cent; and the increase on manufactures as from sixty-seven to ninety-one per cent. In some cases the then existing duties of from sixty to eighty per cent were doubled or more than doubled. In this case the effect of the duties is complicated by the fact that whilst the protective duty on the raw material is enormous, the manufacture is still more heavily protected, in order to compensate the manufacturer for what he has to pay to the wool-grower, as well as to protect his own labour.

The export of British wool to the United States is not a very large matter, but it appears to have suffered from the tariff. The figures are as follows:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£470,000	£405,000	£292,000

Woollen manufactures are a more important item, and their export has no doubt suffered. The following are the figures of the British export of these manufactures, excluding yarn, to the United States, in values:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£5,189,000	£5,148,000	£3,178,000

Nor does there appear to be any material increase in the present year. This is, no doubt, a matter of some importance. Still, however, our export of woollen goods to the United States was, before the recent tariff, only a fourth or fifth part of our whole export of those goods, and there seems reason to doubt whether, as regards some of the finer description of goods, there are any competing manufactures in the United States, in which case the new duties may be prohibitive, but are, of course, not protective. The duties on these goods were, however, so high before the McKinley tariff that the increases made by it may almost be looked on as admission of the failure of a protectionist policy. To determine what is the effect of the complicated arrangements for protecting United States wool-growers against the sheep-farmers of the world, and of protecting United States manufacturers against this protection as well as against the wool-manufacturers of Europe, is not part of my task.

[1] Board of Trade Journal, December, 1890, page 719.

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It is difficult to follow the changes effected by the McKinley tariff in the duties on cotton, jute, and linen, or the effect of those duties on the trade. In the case of cotton piece goods there seems to have been a slight decrease of the heavy duty of forty per cent ad valorem on the lower classes and an increase on the higher classes.[1] In the case of jute goods there appears to have been some increase of duty, though what it amounts to it is difficult to say. But our exports to the United States have not decreased. Possibly the large grain crops may have increased the demand for bags. In the case of linen manufactures there was ground for some apprehension. The duty on the coarser kinds was increased at once by about ten per cent. That on finer kinds is to be increased on January 1, 1894, but is slightly diminished till then. The previous duty was, however, enormous, amounting to thirty-five and forty per cent. The export has decreased, as shown by the following figures: The value of exports of linen piece goods from the United Kingdom to the United States was—

1889.	1890.	1891.
£2,105,000	£2,104,000	£1,720,000

It appears to be increasing in 1892. The whole export of jute and linen goods to the United States was in 1889 about half our total export of those goods, which amounted to nearly ten million pounds.

The new duties on agricultural produce do not affect the United Kingdom, but they do affect Canada materially. The increase, roughly speaking, seems to be from twenty-five per cent to thirty-five per cent ad valorem, and on barley, a great Canadian export, from ten cents per bushel to thirty cents. The total exports from Canada do not seem to have been affected as much as might be expected, as will be seen by the following figures: The value of Canadian exports in years ending June 30 was—

	To the United States.	To all Countries.
1889.....	£8,943,000	£18,326,000
1890.....	8,327,000	19,880,000
1891.....	8,454,000	20,223,000

But the export of Canadian barley to the United States appears to have fallen off in 1890–91, as compared with 1889–90, from nine million nine hundred thousand to four million eight hundred thousand bushels in quantity, and in value from four million six hundred thousand dollars to two million eight hundred thousand dollars.

[1] Board of Trade Journal for December, 1890, page 720.

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It may be interesting to add a word or two on the recent figures of the aggregate export trade of the United Kingdom and of the United States. The value of the whole exports of British produce from the United Kingdom to the United States for the last three years for which we have full returns is as follows:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£30,293,000	£32,068,000	£27,544,000

The McKinley tariff, except as to tin plates, came into operation on October 6, 1890. It will be observed that the exports of 1890 were larger than those of 1889, which was probably due in part to an abnormal export of certain articles in order to anticipate the new tariff. It will be observed also that the export of 1891, when the tariff had come into operation, was less, not only than the export of 1890, but also than that of 1889; and the diminution appears to be continuing in the first two quarters of 1892. This is probably due in part to the operation of the tariff. Yorkshire, no doubt, has suffered considerably, both in woollen goods and cutlery. At the same time it must be remembered that the McKinley tariff was contemporaneous with the Baring failure, with the South American collapse, with the Chilian revolution, and with Australian financial troubles, the various effects of which it is impossible to disentangle. Moreover, it is yet too early to say what the ultimate result may be. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that while there have been the above fluctuations in the trade with the United States, the aggregate exports of the United Kingdom to all countries, notwithstanding the McKinley tariff and all other drawbacks, were in 1891 much the same as in 1889. The figures are as follows:[1] The total exports of British produce were—

1889.	1890.	1891.
£248,935,000	£263,530,000	£247,235,000

From the recent returns of United States exports it seems that the total exports of the United States increased from one hundred and seventy-four million four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds in 1890–91 to two hundred and three million one hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds in 1891–92, being an increase of twenty-eight million six hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds. This increase was due entirely to the increase of exports of agricultural produce, which amounted to thirty-one million one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds, so that there was an actual diminution in other exports.

[1] See London "Times," August 19, 1892.

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It further appears that the export of corn from the United States to the United Kingdom more than doubled in the same year. Under such circumstances one might have expected that the direct exports of the United Kingdom to the United States would also have increased. But that they have not done so is shown by the above figures, and the American corn which we have purchased has no doubt been paid for indirectly, thus showing, in connection with previous figures, that the effect of the United States tariff has probably been to divert rather than to destroy trade, and of course, in diverting it, to render it less profitable both to the American farmer and to others concerned in it than it would be if it flowed in the natural channels. Looking to the whole of the facts, it is fair to conclude that so far as British trade is concerned it is in some degree injured by the tariff, but much less than was expected, and that the injury is rather by way of diversion than by way of destruction. Of its effect on American trade I do not care to speak.

But the question of the increase or decrease of the exports of the United Kingdom or even of her whole trade, imports as well as exports, however important, is not the most important feature in the case. A still more interesting aspect of the subject is that which concerns the future relations of English-speaking races. The case of Canada and the United States and the effect of the McKinley tariff on their commercial relations have been already adverted to. The evil of a trade quarrel between them is bad enough in itself. It creates a further evil when it leads Canada to seek, in an exclusive arrangement with the United Kingdom, compensation for the neighbouring market of which the United States tariff as well as her own protective policy has deprived her. Canada has led the way in an agitation in which, under the guise of a desire to promote a closer union between different parts of the empire, protection has for some time been making insidious steps toward an imperial system of differential duties, under which the mother country and the colonies should agree to exclude from their markets, wholly or partially, the goods of foreign countries, so as to confine those markets to goods produced within the empire, or at any rate to make them by artificial means more favourable to British than to foreign goods. This policy has, of course, found favour with those in this country who support protection openly, as well as with those who support it under the absurd misnomer of "fair trade"; and symptoms have from time to time appeared which looked as if it were making way with the public. For the present that policy

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has failed. It found no favour even with Lord Salisbury's government; and, at a recent meeting of the British Chambers of Commerce of the Empire held in London under the presidency of Sir John Lubbock, a motion by Sir Charles Tupper in favour of such a policy was decisively rejected and a motion in favour of a non-protective policy was carried. But there can be no doubt that such a policy is in the air; that it is an outgrowth, though not a necessary one, of what is spoken of as "Imperial Federation"; and that it connects itself with the wave of national, as opposed to cosmopolitan, feeling which has played so large a part in the history of the last half-century. There is equally little doubt that in the case of Canada such a policy derives much support from the protective policy of the United States. When Canada repels and is repelled by her next neighbour, she looks for an outlet for her produce in the mother country and seeks to tempt England by offering reciprocity or exclusive dealing. To accept such an offer would, in the opinion of British free-traders, be suicidal and fatal to our own commercial policy. What is even more important, it would be fatal to the future relations between Canada and the mother country and between both of them and the United States; for Canada is destined by nature and by geography to trade with the United States, and any legal obligation to the mother country which may have the effect of preventing her from so doing would be sure in time to be felt to be an intolerable grievance and would embitter the relations of all three countries.

Free commercial dealings between Canada and the United States, to the exclusion of the mother country, would be grudgingly assented to at home, and would no doubt create a bitter feeling in the United Kingdom. But if the United States and Canada were both to relax their protective policy and to invite trade with the United Kingdom, as well as with each other, all people in the British Islands would no doubt hail with delight the prospect of bringing the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada into closer and more harmonious relations by means of unrestricted commercial intercourse.

Even this direct result of a change in the commercial policy of the United States, all-important as it is, would scarcely be so welcome to those who hope for human progress as the aid which would be given to that cause by the example of the United States. The policy of one country, sooner or later, affects other countries. When Lord Salisbury, in a speech probably made for electioneering purposes, suggested reprisals on the protectionist countries of Europe, a distin-

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guished American said to me: "This may not hurt you here, but it will hurt free-traders in America. Their opponents will say, 'The minister of the greatest free-trade country in the world is advocating protection.'" He was right. Our newspapers of the 22d of June last contained the following telegram: "Mr. McKinley, addressing a mass-meeting in New York last night, said, 'We have a right to be cheerful when Lord Salisbury has given his adherence to the Republican doctrine of protection.'"

What the exact effect of these utterances on the English public may have been we can only guess. But I have no doubt myself that Mr. McKinley's patronage has done Lord Salisbury a great deal more harm than good in England. Let us trust that Lord Salisbury's supposed adoption of Mr. McKinley's pet doctrine may do it more harm than good in America. No nation stands alone. Those who have upheld the standard of free trade through its darkest hours as a good not for England only, but for all countries, must rejoice at the possible conversion to the true faith of that great country which already practises within its own borders a system of free trade wider than the world has ever known elsewhere; which, as it has led the way of the nations in apostasy from the true faith, will no doubt also lead the way in a return to that faith; and which, by such a course, would not only solve the Canadian difficulty and unite by ties of growing commercial interest the whole English-speaking populations both of North America and of the United Kingdom, but would also set an example which the English-speaking communities of the other hemisphere and the foreign nations of Europe must sooner or later follow.

T. H. Farrer.

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HAS ENGLAND PROFITED BY FREE TRADE?

Is England a Free Trade country? With many this may seem a strange, if not startling, inquiry. The license given to external trading at the ports of the United Kingdom has so long passed by the name of Free Trade, that the world has accepted the term as representing fact, without stopping to remember its real meaning. Moreover, those enamoured of such license, or from various reasons—political and otherwise—interested in advocating its continuance, are wont to claim the progress and prosperity of the latter half of the nineteenth century as its direct effect. And so great is the power of constant iteration, that the term and claim have both been largely accepted without examination.

The term "Free Trade" is itself but a lame rendering of the original conception, the French equivalent, *libre échange*, expressing its meaning much more accurately. By the latter it is at once seen that the reciprocity of free imports is intended, whereas the English wording is too loose to carry more than a conventional meaning. In fact, the origin of the term in England is curiously typical of what it has come to be in practice. Long before the days of Adam Smith, and afterwards, Free Trader was a synonym for smuggler, or one who escaped paying rightful dues. To this day even the term lingers in this sense on the East Coast of Great Britain, and old men still survive to tell, not without boastful pride, of their feats of "free trading," and of the peril and even punishment involved. And according to this meaning perhaps England may well be styled a Free Trade country, some portion of the community escaping the payment of market dues on their imports, whilst the rest, who supply the market with similar commodities from home sources, bear all the brunt of the cost of the market, *i.e.* of the local and imperial taxation.

But the real sense and theory of Free Trade, or Free Exchange, is that countries shall freely exchange with each other the produce for which each country is naturally fitted and the other is not. Southern climes are to exchange their fruits and the produce of their grapes for the hardier products and manufactures of the north, where sunshine

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is rare. Countries unable to produce natural foods, but well able to supply other necessaries of life in the form of clothing or luxuries, are to exchange these latter for the food and drink they cannot produce. British Free Trade, however, is, in practice, based on the exact opposite of this theory. It says in effect: "If there be anything another country produces which the United Kingdom cannot produce, and which presumably is therefore especially wanted, let it be taxed as an import, up to the hilt, *for revenue;* but whenever a country can send what can be and is very well grown or produced internally, let it be encouraged to come in free, so that the profits and wages of producers at home may be knocked down to the lowest margin, and if destroyed altogether, so much the better."

In this fashion "Free Trade" England levies a larger amount of customs taxation, both in amount and reckoned by head of population, than any country in Europe. But she does so only on non-competing imports, whilst admitting free every commodity which competes with, undersells, or extinguishes home production. Was there ever apparently so suicidal a policy? And yet British Free Traders (save the mark!), and especially the Cobden Club of to-day, vaunt such a policy to be the essence of wisdom.

So far have these later apostles carried their advocacy of this view, that they have openly discarded all pretence of belief in the virtues of Free Exchange of Commodities, and at recent gatherings of their Club have evinced their "patriotism" by avowing that they have ceased from seeking to convert the United States, on the pretence that British interests may be best served by that country adhering to Protection, thereby (according to their doctrine) crippling its producing power. This utter negation of the Free Exchange policy by modern British Free Traders is worthy of note, as probably the latest example of the blind leading the blind; showing also how completely the scientific theory is discredited in Europe, even among its professed followers.

But no matter by what name it is known, or what illogical renderings may be given to it, if the claim that British Free Trade has created or indeed contributed in any degree to the material progress and prosperity of the past forty or fifty years be just, it should be allowed. Those who have in recent years advocated a reform of the existing fiscal policy of the United Kingdom have never shirked this point. They have freely admitted the progress and prosperity achieved during the first half, or perhaps a little more than a half, of that period, but they have strenuously denied the *post hoc* to be the *propter hoc.*

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They have indeed asserted that when the United Kingdom was prospering exceedingly, it was in spite of her so-called policy of Free Trade, or rather of Free Imports of competing products. And they have maintained that when she ceased so to prosper, as has been the case now for nearly two decades, it was because the natural operation of such policy then only took effect.

But assertion is insufficient without proofs. The Cobden Club-ites on their side advance a quantity of statistics to prove their case, the chief of which are those of British commerce with foreign countries. There is indeed an easy reason why proof of this character has been placed in the front. The form in which the Government statistics of the United Kingdom are taken and published contribute chiefly to this style of propaganda. Except with regard to agriculture, and the assessments of callings liable to income tax (these latter being very inadequately classified in only five divisions or schedules), there are no official statistics of British industries (other than shipping, of which later on); but there are abundant ones, and in much detail, of imports and exports. And these taken in both quantities and values, and considered only by themselves, without comparison with those of other countries, and regardless of their character, are large enough to appeal to the imagination.

The British Free Trader is never tired of boasting that since 1855 (the year when the Board of Trade returns of the United Kingdom were first issued with real values instead of nominal values, as had been the case previously), the total external commerce of the United Kingdom has risen from 1300 million dollars a year to (in 1891) 3720 million dollars a year. Such figures are naturally impressive, if when examined they were not found to be *vox et præterea nihil.* In truth, when the character of this portion of British national trading is examined, it may be better argued whether such progress is not rather indicative of loss in other directions internally; and, if not altered, to be the forecast of disaster. This is a view of the case which the Cobden Club-ites do not care to discuss. They write and speak as mere professional statisticians, dealing only with figures, regardless of the facts they clothe.

Under the reality of Free Trade, expounded by the light of maxims of political economy, under which goods imported are paid for by goods exported, and the imports are of commodities not able to be produced internally, such progress of external trading would be naturally as gratifying as profitable. But in British Free Trading

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these conditions do not exist. In spite of the maxims of political economy, and of the repeated contention of Cobden Club writers, exports of goods have not paid, and do not pay, for all the imports into the United Kingdom. Taking quinquennial periods since 1855, the preponderance of imports over exports has been—

Very prosperous period.	1855–59	150	million dollars	per annum.
	1860–64	277	"	"
	1865–69	283	"	"
	1870–74	279	"	"
Decline of previous prosperity.	1875–79	590	"	"
	1880–84	546	"	"
	1885–89	462	"	"
	1890–91	545	"	"

Naturally, from the nature of such trading, the statistics of foreign commerce must always show an excess of imports over exports. Thus, in the years 1855–74, there was a by no means abnormal excess. It amounted to no more than what was amply justified by freights and natural profit on external commerce, accruing on the transactions themselves. It is therefore notable that these years were prosperous. But when things took a turn, or, in other words, when the world at large became possessed of the new methods of production, of which the United Kingdom had possessed a monopoly in the earlier period, the excess import was suddenly doubled. And it was then that the years of trade depression and industrial decline commenced.

Of course, the Cobden Club-ites of to-day cannot, and do not, deny these figures, which go so far to disprove the *dicta* of the Cobdenites of fifty years ago. When Mr. Cobden and his friends carried on their crusade, they specifically promised that for every £1 worth of products imported, 20*s.* of British goods would be sent out in exchange. But those who now bear their mantle and carry on their propaganda under the old name, have had to alter their tactics. Like poor Reynard who lost his tail in the trap, they are anxious to show how much better it is to be without such full return trade in goods. They argue, "it cannot be unprofitable to get so much more than is given"; or, in other words, that the world being debtors to British capitalists in their character as foreign investors, or as sea-carriers, there is so much annual tribute to be received in produce or merchandise, before it is necessary to pay for imports by exports of the products of British labour of to-day. In effect, during the controversy of the last dozen years, it has been alleged that the excess imports of the United Kingdom are a sign of increasing wealth rather than the reverse.

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But this places these gentlemen on the horns of a dilemma. If such course of trading be more profitable, how is it that those years when the excess has been only normal were noted for prosperity, and that the period marked by the abnormal excess has been one of national reverse, varied by occasional glimpses of improved trade, when curiously enough the excess import has for the time diminished? And in this present year, which is the worst in more recent times, and promises to be the precursor of a still more troubled period, there is every reason to suppose that the excess of imports into the United Kingdom over exports will nearly reach the figure of 700 million dollars. According to the Cobden Club-ite theory, the year 1892 ought therefore to be the most prosperous for British traders, instead of its being, as there is too much reason to fear, one of the worst.

It is difficult to understand how intelligent men can place themselves as controversialists in this position. To a great extent political partizanship has a great deal to do with it. British Free Trade has been accepted as a party plank in each of the many sections of the Liberal party of the United Kingdom. Though originally carried nearly half a century ago by a Conservative Prime Minister, the pressure came from both the Whigs and the Radicals. The events which immediately followed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 also gave the policy and its name an undeserved prestige. The railway boom was then on. Newly-discovered forces were opening up the world, which, aided by the gold discoveries in Australia and California, gave an impetus to production and international trading, of which Great Britain was alone able at first to take full advantage. Hence years of great prosperity followed, and of this British Free Trade received the credit. Protectionists were silenced by the undoubted expansion of material prosperity, and both parties in the State acquiesced in what appeared to be working well. But in spite of Sir Robert Peel having been the instrument of repealing the Corn Laws, Liberal politicians brought it about; and it was a Liberal statesman who finally carried the changes to its present somewhat illogical point—namely, the free import of competing commodities, with inordinate customs taxation on non-competing products, such as tea, coffee, and fruits, tobacco, wines, spirits, &c.

Therefore, while the Conservative party has equally abstained from espousing the cause of the modern fiscal reformers known as Fair-Traders—who in politics are of no-man's-land—the Liberals, and

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more especially the advanced Liberals, have rushed into the breach made by the failure of the Cobdenite prophecies. And assuming the good faith of every one who has entered the fray, the utmost that can be said of them is, that, as devotees to their party, they have deliberately treated the question only on the surface, and ignored the factors that govern it. For example, if this item of excess imports stood by itself, simply as a matter of figures and nothing else, they would not be in the quandary of having to reconcile the vast profit accruing (as they allege), with the patent fact that the years when such "vast profit" has been greatest the national prosperity of the United Kingdom has been, to say the least, on the ebb tide.

For excess imports *per se* are not necessarily bad. Nay, they may be entirely good. Supposing the whole of the 2000 million dollars (and upwards) of imports into the United Kingdom were the payment of tribute to such portion of the people as are foreign investors or sea carriers, and that not a cent's worth of British goods went out in exchange, *under one condition* it might be all really national profit, coincident with general prosperity. But that condition is absolutely essential. It is material that the import of such tribute (by goods) should consist of non-competing imports, say of articles of consumption unable to be produced under ordinary methods at home; or of articles of luxury in which other peoples, either from climate or racial distinctions, have the great pre-eminence; or, best of all, of the raw material for manufacture, indigenous to other soils and incapable of production at the place of import, but useful to the importing country for the better employment of labour.

When, however, such excess imports consist in the main, as is now the case of the United Kingdom, of products, chiefly foods and especially corn (than which no other country in the world can grow finer crops, or to so great a quantity per acre); or of manufactures, in which Great Britain is still pre-eminent, but which by longer hours and cheaper living in other countries and freedom from taxation, can be imported at a lower cost than that at which the handicapped manufacturers at home can make; with the results that land is thrown out of cultivation and mills obliged to reduce their production for the home market; what is earned by the foreign investor or the sea carrier ceases to be national profit. What is gained in one pocket is lost from the other, with the still further disadvantage that the stronger the foothold secured by the import, especially in the matter of foods, the more precarious the position of the importing peoples. This is the

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crux of the position, and no Free Trade advocate has ever been able to get around it.

Indeed, foreign commerce, instead of being necessarily a symptom of prosperity, may mean exactly the reverse. Imports, they say, beget exports (always apart from that "tribute" question to which some have of late given the term of "invisible exports"). But if so, home production also begets customers. When, however, the import displaces home production, though an export may be attracted, the equivalent home customer is lost, in addition to the primarily displaced product. For the sake of one new national profit from outside, two national profits are lost inside. Take the case, for example, of the United Kingdom and France, of which the populations are nearly equal. The French people consume as much food per head of population as the English. But the United Kingdom imports 500 million dollars more of competing foods than France does, the latter under a policy of not immoderate food duties producing nearly all she consumes herself. Discarding the "tribute" question for the moment, let it be assumed that the United Kingdom pays for such extra import by 500 million dollars of goods exported. She has then 1000 million dollars more foreign trade than France has. But which is better off, the United Kingdom whose national profit is confined to the labour, &c., involved in the 500 millions dollars export, or France who gains the double profit, first on the 500 million dollars of food primarily produced, and then on the 500 million dollars of return custom given by the home producer? Even though the cost to consumers in France may be greater, the margin of national profit involved in such transactions is too great for anyone—except the impenitent political Free Trader—to doubt which policy is the wiser; always providing, of course, that such production is reasonably natural, and not requiring hot-house treatment.

It is the custom also with certain politicians in the United Kingdom, who by wont of long usage have the ear of the public, to treat the so-called Free Trade era as though it had had the monopoly of light, and that all that had preceded it was dark. And men who have not taken the trouble to investigate facts, or had the courage to discard the prejudice which in England surrounds the "dear loaf" bogie, have accepted such statements without questioning. A condition of general adversity, with high prices of bread, is the common picture drawn of the days of Protection. In one of the Cobden Club leaflets, adopted from a Radical electioneering handbill, a doleful story is told

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by one professing to be a very old man (anonymously, of course) of the hardships of 1812, in which year wheat was 112*s.* (27 dollars) the quarter; but the memory of that old man was evidently defective, and not a hint is given by those respectable gentlemen who edit the Club "literature" that in the year 1812 there was no tax on wheat in operation. That old man had forgotten that the wicked Corn Laws repealed in 1846 dated only from 1815, with some changes in the interval. In the course of the Fair-Trade propaganda it has been a common thing for men beyond middle age, saturated with this idea of past calamities so often retailed, to rise and declare how they remember the time when the loaf was so and so (perhaps double what it is now), using this as an argument why no return should be made in the direction of a protective policy. And when pressed to name the year of such high prices, these historians by repute, if they are definite at all, universally fix upon the "Fifties" as such period of distress. But the absurdity of this story (from the point of view of the Free Trade or free import controversy) is patent, when it is remembered that the Corn Laws were abolished in 1846, and that at the period named, as in 1812, there had been free imports of corn for several years, with the exception of the small registration duty of 1*s.* (quarter dollar) per quarter.

Both in the earlier years of the century and in the "Fifties," when at times the average price of wheat in the United Kingdom has been very high, war and the absence of transit facilities have been the causes. In the earlier period Europe had been in strife for years, and England had had a chief share in the fighting; whilst in the "Fifties," the Crimean War put a stop for the time to trading with the Black Sea, whence the imports of wheat into the United Kingdom were then chiefly derived. But the British Free Traders have annexed these events, and through their distortion sought to discredit the fiscal policy of 1815–46; whereas if a fiscal policy had had aught to do with such results—and it had none—the facts tell rather against free imports than against import duties. No better illustration than the foregoing could be given of the ignorance and prejudice on this point amongst Englishmen at home (though when they travel, and especially when they settle in other parts of the world, their eyes are quickly opened); and how this ignorance and prejudice are fomented for political ends by those who ought to know better.

Another feature of these bygone days is always forgotten, and one cannot but think purposely overlooked. Doubtless there were times

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and places when and where, in different parts of the United Kingdom, small as the country is compared with the United States, there were local scarcity of crops and high prices, with hardships pressing upon all classes, especially the peasantry; which did not exist at the same time in other parts of the country. In certain counties—in, for example, Dorsetshire—the conditions of production would be far below the average of the United Kingdom, and the position of the labourers inferior to the lot of the same class elsewhere. In a changeable climate like that of the United Kingdom, where the spells of hot and rainy weather are of brief duration, and where the times of harvest vary in different parts of the country by several weeks, crops may be above the average in one part of the kingdom, and much beneath the average in another part. In the present day such diversity of local influences is not felt, the locomotive having brought distant parts together, precisely as the ocean steamer has knitted country with country. But the absence of means of quick transit in these olden times made it possible for abundance to exist in one part of the country, whilst scarcity and distress might be the portion of another part. This is proved from the fact that the average prices of wheat throughout the country during the protective period were certainly much less than they were in the decade preceding, or the decade succeeding, the operation of import duties.

Indeed, were it necessary, it would not be difficult to show that instead of the protective period of 1815–46 in the United Kingdom having been one of gloom and adversity, it was not merely the contrary, but that the foundations of the future wealth and prosperity of British traders were laid during those years. That the special nature of the Corn Laws of that time was defective, and in many cases vicious —more particularly in the facilities they gave to money speculators to control the market—may be freely admitted. In a word, what the circumstances of 1815 might have dictated was unfitted for the period of thirty years afterwards, when these laws were abolished; and probably many of those who are now clamouring for an alteration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom to suit the new conditions of to-day, would have been found among those who forty or fifty years ago fought for repeal. But the British Free Traders have pinned their creed to that of the political economists, and instead of respecting the special needs of each country and generation, still teach their faith as though it were an exact science, regardless how very imperfectly they themselves already carry out the real creed in operation.

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However, in spite of admitted evils and drawbacks, it was during this much decried, and most undeservedly decried, period, that England placed herself in a position, not merely to take the lead, but to be the only country able to take the first advantage of the commercial and industrial revolution, ushered in by the new reign of science and invention, which the gold discoveries so powerfully stimulated for the time. By fortuitous circumstances these historic events followed the introduction of the free import system so closely, giving rise to the now famous leaps and bounds of trade, that Englishmen were too busy to diagnose the real factors governing the occasion; while the politicians and professional Free Traders at once seized on such progress as a sign of the wisdom of their policy. But, in point of fact, the real operation of free imports of competing products, and without reciprocity, was only retarded; and it was not because, but in spite, of free imports that the country prospered. As a well-known writer on the subject has pithily put it, Free Trade really failed when it was *apparently* succeeding; but when in later years the causes that prevented its natural operation were removed, and apparent failure resulted, it was *really* succeeding.

There are also two or three sign-posts standing to tell us that instead of disaster or distress being the portion of England's Protection period, the reverse was the truth. In the year 1841, before even the first approaches towards a Free Trade policy were made, the *Edinburgh Review*, the chief organ of the Liberal party of that day, and therefore on the side of the Anti-Corn-Law-Leaguers, wrote as follows (p. 502):—

"The history and the prospects of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain have long excited mixed feelings of pleasure and pain, of pride and regret, of satisfaction and of uneasiness, in all thinking minds. We have raised the value of British industry far beyond the value of any other European community. We have accumulated a capital far exceeding, both *positively* and in relation to our population, that of any other existing nation, or, indeed, of any nation whose history is known. Though struggling with a bad climate, and a moderately fertile soil, that industry and that capital have made our land more valuable than any other country of equal extent. In no portion of Europe does the whole amount of wages bear so large a proportion to the whole number of labourers, or the whole amount of profit to the whole number of inhabitants, or the whole amount of rent to the cultivable area. So far as wealth has been our object, we have been successful beyond the dreams of avarice."

This was five years before the Corn Laws were repealed, and at a time when the Lancashire capitalists were subscribing more than a million dollars (this in itself no small test of the wealth of the country

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at that moment) for an agitation founded upon these tales of distress and misery—tales that survive to this hour, though founded on such isolated circumstances as those already described. Listen again to what a modern historian of that agitation, himself a Cobden Club writer, has testified. Mr. Mongredien, in his eleventh chapter, says:—

"The adoption of Free Trade principles was not the result of pressure from adverse circumstances. The country was flourishing; trade was prosperous; the revenue showed a surplus; railways were being constructed with unexampled rapidity; the working classes were fully and remuneratively employed; the Imperial average of wheat for the week ending June 28th, 1845, was 47*s.* 11*d.* per quarter; and bread was cheaper than it had been for many years."

Once more a brief reference may be made to another historical fact showing how under Protection England achieved the highest commercial position in the world, namely, to the Great Exhibition of 1851, the first of those International Shows at which wise men are now chary of exhibiting their methods, but to which still wiser men flock to profit by the ideas and experience of others. Could at that time any part of the whole world have produced anything comparable to it? People from all quarters of the globe, and from every civilized country, flocked to see the proofs of England's commercial greatness, and, alas! to profit by her folly in showing them. How they eventually profited, at the expense of British manufacturers, is now a matter of history; and no longer would it be possible for the United Kingdom to attempt to excel in such rivalry, still less to compete with such monster shows as that which Chicago will next year present to the world.

It is not, however, because of the historic part of the case, and still less on account of the illogical position taken up by the Cobden Clubites, that the Fair-Traders—who first propounded their definite policy in 1881—have entered the field to urge the reform of the present policy of the United Kingdom. It is rather because the features of the world's trade are entirely altered from those which prevailed so recently as twenty years ago. The British trader no longer enjoys his monopolies of the world's markets, besides possession of his own at home. From the point of view of the world's progress at large, the former is, perhaps, not to be regretted; but in the face of the determination of all countries to cater, as far as possible, for themselves—a policy which, in the end, enables them also to compete with the long-established British trader in neutral markets—it is suicidal to let the home market be invaded without at least securing reciprocity in

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tariffs. Moreover, the very element in these invading imports which causes the Cobden Club-ite to declare that no change is possible—namely, the large proportion of food of which they are composed—is precisely that which makes a change absolutely imperative as a matter of mere national safety.

For whilst it cannot be and is not denied that the crowded population of the United Kingdom absolutely needs very large imports of food, and especially of food stuffs, it is equally impossible to deny that so long as such surplus requirements come mainly from foreign countries, this represents a serious element of national weakness, both economically and politically. More especially is this dangerous when such imports, and more particularly breadstuffs, come mainly from the very two countries—Russia and the United States—which send the least return orders in the shape of purchases of British products, as compared with the amount of their sales to the United Kingdom. To become more and more dependent on these external supplies, with decreasing exchange commerce, is a menace not merely to the productive capacity of the United Kingdom internally, but even to its national pre-eminence. The wiser policy of the United States in, for example, building up its iron and steel industries—even though a price for the goodwill has had to be paid at first—is precisely the converse of the policy of the United Kingdom, by which agricultural prosperity has been ruined, because the people have been willing to barter it away for the "mess of potage" of present and immediate cheapness.

Did the United Kingdom stand alone, it might well be that the inability to produce sufficient food internally might prevail, for fear worse might follow. That she could produce much more than she does is undoubted. Twenty years ago double the quantity of land was under wheat cultivation than is the case to-day, without the compensation of extra food of other kinds taking its place. The United Kingdom then produced over 15,000,000 quarters of wheat, or nearly two-thirds of the present consumption, whereas to-day she produces less than 8,000,000 quarters, or only one-third of her consumption. Protection for the United Kingdom of itself alone might immediately restore such previous production, but it would be attendant with other results, which, under its present economical conditions, would render such policy impossible. And this is the plea which the Cobden Club-ite advances the most successfully.

There is, however, an alternative policy which the Fair-Traders

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have propounded, and which is now a growing factor in England, wherever it is impartially considered and its details all thoroughly grasped. Even as the great United States presents in itself a self-contained and self-subsisting Empire, throughout which there is the reality of Free Trade or free exchange, so the British Empire at large contains all the elements which can protect the United Kingdom from any ill-effects arising from the crowded condition and present needs of the home population. The resources of the British Empire are sufficient, if prudently developed, to supply the food requirements of the Mother Country, and at the same time to replace the lost or diminishing markets for her manufacturing exports. The British trader has this weapon of retaliation in his hands to oppose to a policy, through which a great manufacturing concern like Saltaire is crushed, and thousands of men in the Welsh tin-plate industry are dismissed. And though the day has not come when the young populations of the outlying parts of the British Empire can afford to make inter-imperial trade one of absolute free exchange, the principal British Possessions have already spoken out and declared that, if the Mother Country grants her own Empire a preferential market at home, they in their turn would create a preferential tariff for British goods. And without impugning the wisdom of foreign countries, which in their judgment, and understanding their own needs best, have adopted the protective principle as their guide, it is this policy of using the resources of the British Empire as a means whereby the Mother Country may successfully, and without danger, fight the hostile tariffs of the world, which Fair-Traders propounded ten years ago, and still advocate.

MASHAM,
President of the Fair-Trade Club.

London, September, 1892.

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ENDOWED THEATRES AND THE AMERICAN STAGE.

THE task of writing upon the actual state of the American stage is very difficult and delicate, and I undertake it with great diffidence and serious misgivings. Being foreign-born, I am not familiar enough with its past as perhaps I should be to do full justice to my theme, but possibly my foreign origin and experience have given me certain facilities for comparisons and judgment which, if I were of American birth, I might not be able to make.

It seems to me that there is no danger in America which can be said to threaten the future existence of the stage. In this country new theatres are built every day; every day new stars appear on the histrionic horizon; every day new companies and new combinations are formed. This is not surprising, for the stage offers a large field for financial investment and speculation. One can get a higher rent from a theatre than from almost any other kind of building. The work of the theatrical manager is comparatively very easy, as it consists mostly of "filling dates"; that is, of finding enough so-called attractions to give performances during the whole of the theatrical season. Such work does not require any artistic or literary education or any preliminary training. There is also in this land of possibilities and ambitions a vast number of candidates for histrionic honors, and their prospects seem always bright. But the future of the stage and the future of dramatic art and dramatic literature are very different from each other.

The increasing number of theatres and of theatrical organizations in America proves only one thing; that is, the increase in the public desire here for theatrical performances. The population of the cities and even of the minor towns here grows at a wonderful rate; besides, the general welfare and the natural need of recreation after a day's hard work or after a day of idleness are certainly incentives for some outside excitement. This is, however, not the ultimate *desideratum* of dramatic art. No harm is done if a manager fill his pockets or if an actor or actress acquire a fortune. But is this the manner in which a

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higher standard of dramatic art can be attained? Are pastime on one side and speculation on the other the only objects for which the theatre exists? Is there not a higher object than either of these?

When I came to America, there were many things in the theatrical methods and customs prevailing here that puzzled me. The first thing I noticed as strange was the manner in which theatrical performances were advertised. Huge posters, lithographs, quotations from the press on the bills, pictures of Shakespeare standing side by side with advertisements of patent medicines and dog-shows were placed in such a way as to catch the eye of every passer-by and disfigure the walls. This brutal custom of bringing the people to the theatre by means of elaborate prints and a bragging style struck me very disagreeably at first, but little by little I came to understand that it was adopted and sanctioned by even the best actors of this country, for the reason that it was the only way to attract the public. On the continent in Europe, however, the people are always on the lookout for everything that is going on in the artistic world, and a small sheet of paper is sufficient to notify them of performances. Another surprise awaited me when I took up a newspaper and looking eagerly for theatrical notices found them under the heading of "Amusements," and, to cap the climax, discovered, just beneath an elaborate criticism on the performance of "Julius Cæsar," an account of a show of trained monkeys. I must confess that the heading and the juxtaposition filled me with dismay. I have since noticed that some of the papers of a higher standing use the title of "Drama" or "Theatre" instead of the hateful one of "Amusements."

One of the strongest proofs of the relatively small importance of the theatres in the United States is the lack of buildings built solely for the drama. In Europe, theatres bear the character of public buildings and are situated in a square with plenty of space around them. Here nearly all of them are crowded between the shops in business streets. They present externally very slight indication of their exceptional character, except by means of a signboard and a frame with photographs of actors and actresses exposed in the open lobby. In some large cities the manager of to-day attempts by adorning the front entrances of his building to give it something of an artistic air; but in the majority of towns the lack of respect for the appearance of the theatre is appalling. Very often one has to pass through a drug store to the stage, and both of those establishments are frequently under the same management. The arrangements behind the scenes are still

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worse, and though I have learned not to expect too much, I cannot be reconciled to the appearance of the stage entrances and to the condition of the dressing-rooms. There is an unpardonable negligence in this regard on the part of the local managers, who seem to consider nothing but the box-office. The actor during the intervals of his work has not even the chance of resting or breathing in his dingy dressing-room, which is without air, or rather is filled with bad air, and in its equipment is both shabby and unclean. These inconveniences and drawbacks, however, are trifles in comparison with the greater evils which affect the character of dramatic art in this country, the main one of which is a complete lack of stock companies.

In place of stock companies we have the modern system of travelling stars and combinations. There is nothing more detrimental to the actor, nothing more injurious to the advancement and development of his art, than the constant shifting on his part from one place to the other, and, what is still worse, the run of the same play hundreds of times, until the actor's work becomes nothing more than a mechanical and weary reproduction of his part night after night, and his only desire is that it may soon be over. Tomasso Salvini is the only man who has had the courage to revolt against this custom of the English and American stage. He never has played two nights in succession. Even when frequently changing his repertory, he has found his task too wearisome and in great measure injurious to his art. In order to give a good performance, the actor must have rest; he must not appear on the stage tired, trusting in his good luck or in the indulgence of the public. He ought to go to his work with eagerness and anticipation of all the joys and enchantments which a well-performed part gives to the true artist. If acting is, as it should be, the actor's highest enjoyment, it will be equally enjoyed by the audience. But how can one feel able to perform the difficult tasks of the stage after twenty-four hours of travelling or after a number of weeks of so-called "one-night stands"? Still, in spite of fatigue the actor has to obey the prompter's bell; no matter whether he feels well or ill, he must "go on"; no matter if he has a bad cold, he must recite the blank verse with hoarse voice, or he must dance a minuet with a headache. Scarcely has he time to unpack his trunk and eat a cold supper in a hurry before he must appear on the stage with a radiant countenance. Where is art then? Art has covered her face and flown away, ashamed of those who cease thus to be priests at her altar and simply become commercial travellers in art, changing the stage to a sample-room where the

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public has only a vague idea what the article might have been if it had been shown under the best conditions.

Why do the great actors of this country travel from place to place instead of remaining in the large cities? There is one main reason: the lack of an endowed theatre, where the principal talent of the country, having an assured sustenance, may, without regard to the future, be devoted exclusively to artistic pursuits. Great actors would thus create a standard which would be authoritative in matters of dramatic art. It would be impossible for a single person, even of the most prominent standing, to keep up in any of the American cities a stock company devoted purely to legitimate drama and comedy. The sad experiment made by Edwin Booth is the best proof of this fact. And yet there is no name dearer to every ear, no talent shining with greater splendor than his. Where now is the beautiful theatre to the erection of which he sacrificed the gains of many years of hard work? Where is the stage upon which "Romeo," "Hamlet," "Shylock," walked in the full bloom and vigor of his genius? They are gone, and trade now spreads its goods where Shakespeare's spirit reigned. It is true that there are several stock companies in New York. The organizations of Augustin Daly, Palmer, and Frohman, as well as the cheerful home of local comedy under Harrigan, answer in part to the wants that permanent theatres ought to supply. There is also a stock company of old standing and reputation in Boston—the Boston Museum. All these companies contain excellent talent; they are conducted with sagacity and artistic knowledge; they possess a public of their own. And yet we see that even they lose sometimes their best actors or sublet their theatres to inferior organizations; that they are compelled to make long runs of pieces of poor intrinsic merit, mostly translations, and that only occasionally they can afford to give performances of a legitimate order. Is there no remedy for this degraded condition of American dramatic art?

There is no remedy except in the establishment of endowed theatres independent of the money question. The supremacy of such institutions, supplied with superior talent, artistic management, and elevated repertory, would soon be acknowledged by a public so quick to appreciate as the American people. This would naturally improve the taste and necessarily react upon the conduct of other theatres. There is no question that they would attract a great many persons who, disgusted with present conditions, rarely or never go to the playhouse. Such theatres, if obliged by the provisions of their endow-

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ment to produce the classic works of dramatic literature, would at the same time offer a ready hospitality to the best modern plays and bring to the front new authors, exciting emulation among the foremost writers of the country. A few great actors and innumerable so-called stars and combinations cannot furnish opportunities for the development of dramatic literature. The plays now written are mostly well or ill fitted dresses, made to order for each individual star, pieces of one part; or else they are conglomerations of scenic effects adapted to the capacity of the company, where the author sometimes has little to do, the ingenious actors having burdened the lines with their own inventions.

There can be no doubt that dramatic art is in its influence very important and is worthy of a better fate than falls to it in this country. It speaks more keenly to the human heart and mind than any of the other arts; its means are the most direct of all, appealing as they do to both our ears and eyes. Partaking thus of the advantages of music and the plastic arts, it penetrates the deepest recesses of the human soul, whose innermost chords it puts into vibration; however short may be its action, the impressions which it leaves are often very durable. By rendering some of the highest works of genius, this art makes more accessible to us the great inspiration of the master minds of humanity, and stirs in us the love of the ideal slumbering in every soul, and which, when awakened, raises man above the level of the brute. I have heard two of the most eminent divines of this age declare that next to the pulpit the stage can have the greatest influence for good. And yet there is no art which is so much abused. Controlled by sordid influences, it descends slowly but surely to a degraded position. Its influence certainly grows, but not for good. Instead of being itself a guide in matters of refinement and art, the stage of to-day is guided merely by the question of attractiveness and knows no higher aim than the receipts of the box-office; instead of trying to improve the public taste, it panders to the tastes of the majority. And who can deny that the lower the taste is the more general it is? I do not speak here of the great public, but of that portion of it which is most eager in its search for excitement. Is there anything more noticeable than the increasing vulgarity, falsely called realism, of the plays that nowadays achieve the greatest success?

In old Europe, where many things are in decay, but where also many other things remain as the outgrowth of centuries of civilization, the theatre has preserved to a great degree the character of a public institution. Almost every large city, every town of some im-

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portance, possesses one or more theatres endowed either by the state or the city or by private donations. The foremost of them, like the *Théâtre Français* in Paris and the *Burg Theater* in Vienna, have exerted an exceedingly salutary influence, not only on the improvement of dramatic art, but equally on the development of literature, the refinement of public taste and manners, and in a great measure on the preservation of the purity and elegance of the language. Conservative in their tendencies, they have been a barrier against the encroachments of vulgarity, and they have not been indifferent to genuine improvement and progress. Similar to them was the action of many others, those in Berlin, Dresden, Munich, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Warsaw, Pesth, Prague, etc., etc. Strange to say, England, the home of Shakespeare, does not possess a national theatre. Germany, in fact, takes the front rank in regard to the respect it pays to dramatic art.

An endowed theâtre is conducted on the basis of a stock company selected from the foremost talent of the country. The actor remains there for the greatest part of his life; at the end of his services, when old age or infirmity disables him for further work, he is granted a pension. The manager is not a speculator, but a responsible employee, chosen on account of fitness for his duties. In many of those institutions the plays are accepted or refused by a committee composed of the most prominent members of the company, sometimes in conjunction with a few select literary advisers. "Runs" of plays night after night are practically unknown. A successful piece is placed in the permanent repertory, to be repeated several times weekly or monthly. The rule is a continual change of bill. The companies are numerous; therefore there is no necessity for an actor to play every night. The regulations of the endowment usually prescribe the production of standard works at certain intervals. There is, for instance, no week in the *Théâtre Français* without a performance of Racine, Corneille, or Molière, no week in the *Burg Theater* without Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, or Shakespeare. Besides the endowed theatres, there exist in the larger cities, mainly in the capitals, many private ones that have to support themselves, and are therefore conducted more on a business basis. But such is the prestige of the endowed theatres that the others are compelled to follow the example set by them, and thus avoid the complete anarchy which is the result of our American system.

Starring is not wholly unknown on the European continent, but it is singularly modified and restrained. Actors and actresses who have achieved a notable success, whose fame has reached beyond the limits

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of their own town or country, are granted now and then a few months' vacation, during which they are invited by other theatres to appear as "guests" in conjunction with the stock companies. Such was, I understand, the practice in this country as long as the stock companies existed. The latter disappeared because the present system seemed to promise a larger income both to the managers and to the actors. It is a question if we ever shall return to it. It would certainly be an improvement, but it would not solve the difficulty.

As to the *personnel* of endowed theatres, there would be no difficulty in forming it. Dramatic talent is not rare here. The prevalent mixture of races, the inherent quickness and subtlety of perception, the nervous and emotional temperament, as well as the innate sense of humor and observation among Americans—all these elements seem exceedingly propitious to the development of native dramatic talent. Among the older actors and actresses, trained in the school of stock companies (I include not only the stars, but, possibly even more, those who are satisfied with the humbler position of supporters), there are forces sufficient to form the nucleus of excellent companies. By grouping around them a number of younger actors and training them, we could certainly be able, in time, to emulate the better theatres in Europe. The managerial positions could be filled either by actors of experience and ability or by those of the local managers who have distinguished themselves by the artistic conduct of their business. Good-will would not be lacking; a great number of actors would welcome the change, and would gladly abandon their present uncertain and unsatisfactory manner of life to obtain a more dignified, more stable, and more artistic position.

As our mode of government places entirely out of question any idea of State or municipal support, it is not to be expected that in the present state of the public mind, where the theatre is considered mostly as an amusement and very often as a precursor of Hades, public subscriptions could be solicited with any prospect of success. The only chance is to find among the rich, the very rich, of this country men both enlightened and generous enough to endow such theatres with private donations. I say *very* rich, because it would be unfair to conceal that the cost of the establishment of such a theatre would run not merely into tens or hundreds of thousands, but into millions.

However, I do not despair. Was not the whole *renaissance* movement in Italy supported, not so much by Italian courts and governments as by the patronage of the wealthy inhabitants of the little

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republics? Many of our millionaires have nobly shown how well they understand their duty to the country which gave them their wealth, by establishing religious, educational, and charitable institutions. Few commonwealths, indeed, can boast of such generous examples of philanthropy as the United States. In the artistic sphere we have instances of individuals endowing symphonic orchestras, musical institutes, and museums of fine arts. With regard to dramatic art, we know of a few cases where public-spirited citizens have erected fine buildings for theatres; but as no fund was provided to maintain companies in them, the theatres have been obliged to support themselves in the usual manner.

The awakening of the sense of art in other directions is a happy sign of the time. It is not unreasonable to hope that soon we shall see a Mæcenas of dramatic art, inspired by a noble ambition, not only erecting in one of the larger cities of America a theatre worthy of the high purposes for which it is founded, but also devoting a sufficient capital to assure its independence. Such an endowment would certainly be duplicated in time in other cities, because nothing is more contagious than good example. This is the only hope which sustains the courage of those who long to see the American stage in the place it ought to fill.

HELENA MODJESKA.

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A NEW IMPULSE TO AN OLD GOSPEL.

"HULL HOUSE, which was Chicago's first Settlement, was established in September, 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, backed by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. It was opened on general Settlement lines, in the conviction that along those lines many educated young people could find the best outlet for a certain sort of unexpressed activity. Hull House is neither a University Settlement nor a College Settlement: it calls itself a Social Settlement, an attempt to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an attempt to add the social function to democracy. It was opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal; and that as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gave a form of expression that has peculiar value." This I wrote in the FORUM for October.

I attempt in this paper to treat of the subjective necessity for a Social Settlement, to analyze, as nearly as I can, the motives that underlie a movement which I believe to be based not only on conviction, but on genuine emotion. I have divided the motives which constitute the subjective pressure toward Social Settlements into three great lines: the first contains the desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression; the second is the impulse to share the race life, to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little; the third springs from a certain *renaissance* of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects.

It is not difficult to see that although America is pledged to the democratic ideal, the view of democracy has been partial and that its best achievement thus far has been pushed along the line of the fran-

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chise. Democracy has made little attempt to assert itself in social affairs. We have refused to move beyond the position of its eighteenth-century leaders, who believed that political equality alone would secure all good to all men. We conscientiously followed the gift of the ballot hard upon the gift of freedom to the Negro, but we are quite unmoved by the fact that he lives among us in a practical social ostracism. We hasten to give the franchise to the immigrant from a sense of justice, from a tradition that he ought to have it, while we dub him with epithets deriding his past life or present occupation and feel no duty to invite him to our houses. We are forced to acknowledge that it is only in our local and national politics that we try very hard for the ideal so dear to those who were enthusiasts when the century was young. We have almost given it up as our ideal in social intercourse. In many a city ward the majority of the votes are openly sold for drinks and dollars; still there is a remote pretence, at least a fiction current, that a man's vote is his own. The judgment of the voter is consulted and an opportunity for remedy given. There is not even a theory in the social order, not a shadow answering to the polls in politics. The time may come when the politician who sells one by one to the highest bidder all the offices in his grasp will not be considered more base in his code of morals, more hardened in his practice, than the woman who constantly invites to her receptions those alone who bring her an equal social return, who shares her beautiful surroundings only with those who minister to a liking she has for successful social events. In doing this she is just as unmindful of the common weal, as unscrupulous in her use of power, as is any city "boss" who consults only the interests of the "ring."

In politics "bossism" arouses a scandal. It goes on in society constantly and is only beginning to be challenged. Our consciences are becoming tender in regard to the lack of democracy in social affairs. We are perhaps entering upon the second phase of democracy, as the French philosophers entered upon the first, somewhat bewildered by its logical conclusions. The social organism has broken down through large districts of our great cities. Many of the people living there are very poor, the majority of them without leisure or energy for anything but the gain of subsistence. They move often from one wretched lodging to another. They live for the moment side by side, many of them without knowledge of each other, without fellowship, without local tradition or public spirit, without social organization of any kind. Practically nothing is done to remedy this.

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The people who might do it, who have the social tact and training, the large houses, and the traditions and custom of hospitality, live in other parts of the city. The club-houses, libraries, galleries, and semi-public conveniences for social life are also blocks away. We find workingmen organized into armies of producers because men of executive ability and business sagacity have found it to their interests thus to organize them. But these workingmen are not organized socially; although living in crowded tenement-houses, they are living without a corresponding social contact. The chaos is as great as it would be were they working in huge factories without foreman or superintendent. Their ideas and resources are cramped. The desire for higher social pleasure is extinct. They have no share in the traditions and social energy which make for progress. Too often their only place of meeting is a saloon, their only host a bartender; a local demagogue forms their public opinion. Men of ability and refinement, of social power and university cultivation, stay away from them. Personally, I believe the men who lose most are those who thus stay away. But the paradox is here: when cultivated people do stay away from a certain portion of the population, when all social advantages are persistently withheld, it may be for years, the result itself is pointed at as a reason, is used as an argument, for the continued withholding.

It is constantly said that because the masses have never had social advantages they do not want them, that they are heavy and dull, and that it will take political or philanthropic machinery to change them. This divides a city into rich and poor; into the favored, who express their sense of the social obligation by gifts of money, and into the unfavored, who express it by clamoring for a "share"—both of them actuated by a vague sense of justice. This division of the city would be the more justifiable, however, if the people who thus isolated themselves on certain streets and used their social ability for each other gained enough thereby and added sufficient to the sum total of social progress to justify the withholding of the pleasures and results of that progress from so many people who ought to have them. But they cannot accomplish this. The social spirit discharges itself in many forms, and no one form is adequate to its total expression. We are all uncomfortable in regard to the insincerity of our best phrases, because we hesitate to translate our philosophy into the deed.

It is inevitable that those who feel most keenly this insincerity and partial living should be our young people, our so-called educated

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young people who accomplish little toward the solution of this social problem, and who bear the brunt of being cultivated into unnourished, over-sensitive lives. They have been shut off from the common labor by which they live and which is a great source of moral and physical health. They feel a fatal want of harmony between their theory and their lives, a lack of co-ordination between thought and action. I think it is hard for us to realize how seriously many of them are taking to the notion of human brotherhood, how eagerly they long to give tangible expression to the democratic ideal. These young men and women, longing to socialize their democracy, are animated by certain hopes. These hopes may be loosely formulated thus: that if in a democratic country nothing can be permanently achieved save through the masses of the people, it will be impossible to establish a higher political life than the people themselves crave; that it is difficult to see how the notion of a higher civic life can be fostered save through common intercourse.

The blessings which we associate with a life of refinement and cultivation can be made universal and must be made universal if they are to be permanent. The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life. These hopes are responsible for results in various directions, pre-eminently in the extension of educational advantages. We find that all educational matters are more democratic in their political than in their social aspects. The public schools in the poorest and most crowded wards of the city are inadequate to the number of children, and many of the teachers are ill-prepared and overworked; but in each ward there is an effort to secure public education. The school-house itself stands as a pledge that the city recognizes and endeavors to fulfil the duty of educating its children. But what becomes of these children when they are no longer in public schools? Many of them never come under the influence of a professional teacher after they are twelve. Society at large does little for their intellectual development. The dream of transcendentalists that each New England village would be a university, that every child taken from the common school would be put into definite lines of study and mental development, had its unfulfilled beginning in the village lyceum and lecture courses, and has its feeble representative now in the multitude of clubs for study which are so sadly restricted to educators, to the leisure class, or only to the advanced and progressive workers.

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The University Extension movement—certainly when it is closely identified with Settlements—would not confine learning to those who already want it, or to those who, by making an effort, can gain it, or to those among whom professional educators are already at work, but would take it to the tailors of East London and the dock-laborers of the Thames. It requires tact and training, love of learning, and the conviction of the justice of its diffusion to give it to people whose intellectual faculties are untrained and disused. But men in England are found who do it successfully, and it is believed there are men and women in America who can do it. I also believe that the best work in University Extension can be done in Settlements, where the teaching will be further socialized, where the teacher will grapple his students, not only by formal lectures, but by every hook possible to the fuller intellectual life which he represents. This teaching requires distinct methods, for it is true of people who have been allowed to remain undeveloped and whose faculties are inert and sterile, that they cannot take their learning heavily. It has to be diffused in a social atmosphere. Information held in solution, a medium of fellowship and good-will can be assimilated by the dullest.

If education is, as Froebel defined it, "deliverance," deliverance of the forces of the body and mind, then the untrained must first be delivered from all constraint and rigidity before their faculties can be used. Possibly one of the most pitiful periods in the drama of the much-praised young American who attempts to rise in life is the time when his educational requirements seem to have locked him up and made him rigid. He fancies himself shut off from his uneducated family and misunderstood by his friends. He is bowed down by his mental accumulations and often gets no farther than to carry them through life as a great burden. Not once has he had a glimpse of the delights of knowledge. Intellectual life requires for its expansion and manifestation the influence and assimilation of the interests and affections of others. Mazzini, that greatest of all democrats, who broke his heart over the condition of the South European peasantry, said: "Education is not merely a necessity of true life by which the individual renews his vital force in the vital force of humanity; it is a Holy Communion with generations dead and living, by which he fecundates all his faculties. When he is withheld from this Communion for generations, as the Italian peasant has been, we point our finger at him and say, 'He is like a beast of the field; he must be controlled by force.'" Even to this it is sometimes added that it is

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absurd to educate him, immoral to disturb his content. We stupidly use again the effect as an argument for a continuance of the cause. It is needless to say that a Settlement is a protest against a restricted view of education, and makes it possible for every educated man or woman with a teaching faculty to find out those who are ready to be taught. The social and educational activities of a Settlement are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the existence of the Settlement itself.

I find it somewhat difficult to formulate the second line of motives which I believe to constitute the trend of the subjective pressure toward the Settlement. There is something primordial about these motives, but I am perhaps over-bold in designating them as a great desire to share the race life. We all bear traces of the starvation struggle which for so long made up the life of the race. Our very organism holds memories and glimpses of that long life of our ancestors which still goes on among so many of our contemporaries. Nothing so deadens the sympathies and shrivels the power of enjoyment as the persistent keeping away from the great opportunities for helpfulness and a continual ignoring of the starvation struggle which makes up the life of at least half the race. To shut one's self away from that half of the race life is to shut one's self away from the most vital part of it; it is to live out but half the humanity which we have been born heir to and to use but half our faculties. We have all had longings for a fuller life which should include the use of these faculties. These longings are the physical complement of the "Intimations of Immortality" on which no ode has yet been written. To portray these would be the work of a poet, and it is hazardous for any but a poet to attempt it.

You may remember the forlorn feeling which occasionally seizes you when you arrive early in the morning a stranger in a great city. The stream of laboring people goes past you as you gaze through the plate-glass window of your hotel. You see hard-working men lifting great burdens; you hear the driving and jostling of huge carts. Your heart sinks with a sudden sense of futility. The door opens behind you and you turn to the man who brings you in your breakfast with a quick sense of human fellowship. You find yourself praying that you may never lose your hold on it all. A more poetic prayer would be that the great mother breasts of our common humanity, with its labor and suffering and its homely comforts, may never be withheld from you. You turn helplessly to the waiter. You feel that it would

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be almost grotesque to claim from him the sympathy you crave. Civilization has placed you far apart, but you resent your position with a sudden sense of snobbery. Literature is full of portrayals of these glimpses. They come to shipwrecked men on rafts; they overcome the differences of an incongruous multitude when in the presence of a great danger or when moved by a common enthusiasm. They are not, however, confined to such moments, and if we were in the habit of telling them to each other, the recital would be as long as the tales of children are when they sit down on the green grass and confide to each other how many times they have remembered that they lived once before. If that is the stirring of inherited impressions, just so surely is the other the stirring of inherited power.

There is nothing after disease, indigence, and a sense of guilt so fatal to health and to life itself as the want of a proper outlet for active faculties. I have seen young girls suffer and grow sensibly lowered in vitality in the first years after they leave school. In our attempt then to give a girl pleasure and freedom from care we succeed, for the most part, in making her pitifully miserable. She finds "life" so different from what she expected it to be. She is besotted with innocent little ambitions and does not understand this apparent waste of herself, this elaborate preparation, if no work is provided for her. There is a heritage of noble obligation which young people accept and long to perpetuate. The desire for action, the wish to right wrong and alleviate suffering, haunts them daily. Society smiles at it indulgently instead of making it of value to itself. The wrong to them begins even farther back when we restrain the first childish desires for "doing good" and tell them that they must wait until they are older and better fitted. We intimate that social obligation begins at a fixed date, forgetting that it begins with birth itself. We treat them as we would children who, with strong-growing limbs, are allowed to use their legs but not their arms, or whose legs are daily carefully exercised that after awhile their arms may be put to high use. We do this in spite of the protest of the best educators, Locke and Pestalozzi. We are fortunate in the mean time if their unused members do not weaken and disappear. They do sometimes. There are a few girls who, by the time they are "educated," forget their old childish desires to help the world and to play with poor little girls "who haven't playthings." Parents are often curious about this. They deliberately expose their daughters to the knowledge of the distress in the world. They send them to hear missionary addresses on

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famines in India and China; they accompany them to lectures on the suffering in Siberia; they agitate together over the forgotten region of East London. In addition to this, from babyhood the altruistic tendencies of these daughters are persistently cultivated. They are taught to be self-forgetting and self-sacrificing, to consider the good of the Whole before the good of the Ego. But when all this information and culture begins to show results, when the daughter comes back from college and begins to recognize her social claim to the "submerged tenth" and to evince a disposition to fulfil it, the family claim is strenuously asserted; she is told that she is unjustified, ill-advised in her efforts. If she persists the family too often are injured and unhappy, unless the efforts are called missionary, and the religious zeal of the family carry them over their sense of abuse.

We have in America a fast-growing number of cultivated young people who have no recognized outlet for their active faculties. They hear constantly of the great social mal-adjustment, but no way is provided for them to change it and their uselessness hangs about them heavily. Huxley declares that the sense of uselessness is the severest shock which the human system can sustain, and, if persistently sustained, it results in atrophy of function. These young people have had advantages of college, of European travel and economic study, but they are sustaining this shock of inaction. They have pet phrases, and they tell you that the things that make us all alike are stronger than the things that make us different. They say that all men are united by needs and sympathies far more permanent and radical than anything that temporarily divides them and sets them in opposition to each other. If they affect art, they say that the decay in artistic expression is due to the decay in ethics, that art when shut away from the human interests and from the great mass of humanity is self-destructive. They tell their elders with all the bitterness of youth that if they expect success from them in business, or politics, or whatever lines their ambition for them has run, they must let them consult all of humanity; that they must let them find out what the people want and how they want it. It is only the stronger young people, however, who formulate this. Many of them dissipate their energies in so-called enjoyment. Others, not content with that, go on studying and come back to college for their second degrees, not that they are especially fond of study, but they want something definite to do, and their powers have been trained in the direction of mental accumulation. Many are buried beneath mere mental accumulation

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with lowered vitality and discontent. Walter Besant says they have had the vision that Peter had when he saw the great sheet let down from heaven, wherein was neither clean nor unclean. He calls it the sense of humanity. It is not philanthropy nor benevolence. It is a thing fuller and wider than either of these. This young life, so sincere in its emotion and good phrases and yet so undirected, seems to me as pitiful as the other great mass of destitute lives. One is supplementary to the other, and some method of communication can surely be devised. Mr. Barnett, who urged the first Settlement—Toynbee Hall, in East London—recognized this need of outlet for the young men of Oxford and Cambridge and hoped that the Settlement would supply the communication. It is easy to see why the Settlement movement originated in England, where the years of education are more constrained and definite than they are here, where class distinctions are more rigid. The necessity of it was greater there, but we are fast feeling the pressure of the need and reaching the necessity for Settlements in America. Our young people feel nervously the need of putting theory into action and respond quickly to the Settlement form of activity.

The third division of motives which I believe make toward the Settlement is the result of a certain *renaissance* going forward in Christianity. The impulse to share the lives of the poor, the desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. We have no proof from the records themselves that the early Roman Christians, who strained their simple art to the point of grotesqueness in their eagerness to record a "good news" on the walls of the catacombs, considered this "good news" a religion. Jesus had imposed no cult nor rites. He had no set of truths labelled "Religious." On the contrary, his doctrine was that all truth was one, that the appropriation of it was freedom. His teaching had no dogma of its own to mark it off from truth and action in general. The very universality of it precluded its being a religion. He himself called it a revelation—a life. These early Roman Christians received the Gospel message, a command to love all men, with a certain joyous simplicity. The image of the Good Shepherd is blithe and gay beyond the gentlest shepherd of Greek mythology; the hart no longer pants, but rushes to the water brooks. The Christians looked for the continuous revelation, but believed what Jesus said, that this revelation to be held and made manifest must be put into terms of action; that action is the only organ man has for receiving

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and appropriating truth. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine."

That Christianity would have to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships in the way in which he connects with his fellows, that his motives for action are the zeal and affection with which he regards his fellows. By this simple process was created a deep enthusiasm for humanity, which regarded man as at once the organ and object of revelation; and by this process came about that wonderful fellowship, that true democracy of the early Church, that so captivates the imagination. The early Christians were pre-eminently non-resistant. They believed in love as a cosmic force. There was no iconoclasm during the minor peace of the Church. They did not yet denounce, nor tear down temples, nor preach the end of the world. They grew to a mighty number, but it never occurred to them, either in their weakness or their strength, to regard other men for an instant as their foes or aliens. The spectacle of the Christians loving all men was the most astounding Rome had ever seen. They were eager to sacrifice themselves for the weak, for children and the aged. They identified themselves with slaves and did not avoid the plague. They longed to share the common lot that they might receive the constant revelation. It was a new treasure which the early Christians added to the sum of all treasures, a joy hitherto unknown in the world—the joy of finding the Christ which lieth in each man, but which no man can unfold save in fellowship. A happiness ranging from the heroic to the pastoral enveloped them. They were to possess a revelation as long as life had new meaning to unfold, new action to propose.

I believe that there is a distinct turning among many young men and women toward this simple acceptance of Christ's message. They resent the assumption that Christianity is a set of ideas which belong to the religious consciousness, whatever that may be, that it is a thing to be proclaimed and instituted apart from the social life of the community. They insist that it shall seek a simple and natural expression in the social organism itself. The Settlement movement is only one manifestation of that wider humanitarian movement which throughout Christendom, but pre-eminently in England, is endeavoring to embody itself, not in a sect, but in society itself. Tolstoi has reminded us all very forcibly of Christ's principle of non-resistance. His formulation has been startling and his expression has deviated

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from the general movement, but there is little doubt that he has many adherents, men and women who are philosophically convinced of the futility of opposition, who believe that evil can be overcome only with good and cannot be opposed by evil. If love is the creative force of the universe, the principle which binds men together, and by their interdependence on each other makes them human, just so surely is anger the destructive principle of the universe, that which tears down, thrusts men apart, and makes them isolated and brutal.

I cannot of course speak for other Settlements, but it would, I think, be unfair to Hull House not to emphasize the conviction with which the first residents went there, that it would simply be a foolish and an unwarrantable expenditure of force to oppose and to antagonize any individual or set of people in the neighborhood; that whatever of good the House had to offer should be put into positive terms; that its residents should live with opposition to no man, with recognition of the good in every man, even the meanest. I believe that this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christ. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the Settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among the people the Settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition. It may be true, as Frederic Harrison insists, that the very religious fervor of man can be turned into love for his race and his desire for a future life into contempt to live in the echo of his deeds. How far the Positivists' formula of the high ardor for humanity can carry the Settlement movement, Mrs. Humphry Ward's house in London may in course of time illustrate. Paul's formula of seeking for the Christ which lieth in each man and founding our likenesses on him seems a simpler formula to many of us.

If you have heard a thousand voices singing in the Hallelujah Chorus in Handel's "Messiah," you have found that the leading voices could still be distinguished, but that the differences of training and cultivation between them and the voices of the chorus were lost in the unity of purpose and the fact that they were all human voices lifted by a high motive. This is a weak illustration of what a Settlement

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attempts to do. It aims, in a measure, to lead whatever of social life its neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, to bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and training; but it receives in exchange for the music of isolated voices the volume and strength of the chorus. It is quite impossible for me to say in what proportion or degree the subjective necessity which led to the opening of Hull House combined the three trends: first, the desire to interpret democracy in social terms; secondly, the impulse beating at the very source of our lives urging us to aid in the race progress; and, thirdly, the Christian movement toward Humanitarianism. It is difficult to analyze a living thing; the analysis is at best imperfect. Many more motives may blend with the three trends; possibly the desire for a new form of social success due to the nicety of imagination, which refuses worldly pleasures unmixed with the joys of self-sacrifice; possibly a love of approbation, so vast that it is not content with the treble clapping of delicate hands, but wishes also to hear the bass notes from toughened palms, may mingle with these.

The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the over-accumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantage. From its very nature it can stand for no political or social *propaganda*. It must, in a sense, give the warm welcome of an inn to all such *propaganda*, if perchance one of them be found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in the Settlement is that it lose its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment. It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation. It must be grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is on the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy which will not waver when the race happens to be represented by a drunken woman or an idiot boy. Its residents must be emptied of all conceit of opinion and all self-assertion, and ready to arouse and interpret the public opinion of their neighborhood. They

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must be content to live quietly side by side with their neighbors until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests. Their neighbors are held apart by differences of race and language which the residents can more easily overcome. They are bound to see the needs of their neighborhood as a whole, to furnish data for legislation, and use their influence to secure it. In short, residents are pledged to devote themselves to the duties of good citizenship and to the arousing of the social energies which too largely lie dormant in every neighborhood given over to industrialism. They are bound to regard the entire life of their city as organic, to make an effort to unify it and to protest against its over-differentiation.

Our philanthropies of all sorts are growing so expensive and institutional that it is to be hoped the Settlement movement will keep itself facile and unincumbered. From its very nature it needs no endowment, no roll of salaried officials. Many residents must always come in the attitude of students, assuming that the best teacher of life is life itself and regarding the Settlement as a class-room. Hull House from the outside may appear to be a cumbrous plant of manifold industries, with its round of clubs and classes, its day nursery, diet kitchen, library, art exhibits, lectures, statistical work and polyglot demands for information, a thousand people coming and going in an average week. But viewed as a business enterprise it is not costly, for from this industry are eliminated two great items of expense—the cost of superintendence and the cost of distribution. All the management and teaching are voluntary and unpaid, and the consumers—to continue the commercial phraseology—are at the door and deliver the goods themselves. In the instance of Hull House, rent is also largely eliminated through the courtesy of Miss Culver, the owner. Life is manifold and Hull House attempts to respond to as many sides as possible. It does this fearlessly, feeling sure that among the able people of Chicago are those who will come to do the work when once the outline is indicated. It pursues much the same policy in regard to money. It seems to me an advantage—this obligation to appeal to business men for their judgment and their money, to the educated for their effort and enthusiasm, to the neighborhood for their response and co-operation. It tests the sanity of an idea, and we enter upon a new line of activity with a feeling of support and confidence. We have always been perfectly frank with our neighbors. I have never tried so earnestly to set forth the gist of the Settlement movement, to make clear its reciprocity, as I have to them. At first we were often asked

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why we came to live there when we could afford to live somewhere else. I remember one man who used to shake his head and say it was "the strangest thing he had met in his experience," but who was finally convinced that it was not strange but natural. There was another who was quite sure that the "prayer-meeting snap" would come in somewhere, that it was "only a question of time." I trust that now it seems natural to all of us that the Settlement should be there. If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse all men feel. Whoever does it is rewarded by something which, if not gratitude, is at least spontaneous and vital and lacks that irksome sense of obligation with which a substantial benefit is too often acknowledged. The man who looks back to the person who first put him in the way of good literature has no alloy in his gratitude.

I remember when the statement seemed to me very radical that the salvation of East London was the destruction of West London; but I believe now that there will be no wretched quarters in our cities at all when the conscience of each man is so touched that he prefers to live with the poorest of his brethren, and not with the richest of them that his income will allow. It is to be hoped that this moving and living will at length be universal and need no name. The Settlement movement is from its nature a provisional one. It is easy in writing a paper to make all philosophy point one particular moral and all history adorn one particular tale; but I hope you forgive me for reminding you that the best speculative philosophy sets forth the solidarity of the human race, that the highest moralists have taught that without the advance and improvement of the whole no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual condition. The subjective necessity for Social Settlements is identical with that necessity which urges us on toward social and individual salvation.

JANE ADDAMS.

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WHAT WE REALLY KNOW ABOUT MARS.

THE observations of Mars for 1892 are nearly over at the time this paper is being written. The circumstances under which the planet has been seen have been very unfavorable in Europe, owing to the low altitude of Mars, and almost equally so in America. Professor Schiaparelli tells me that he has not been able to use a magnifying power of even 200 with advantage, and at the Lick Observatory, where the planet has been assiduously followed by Messrs. Schaeberle, Barnard, Campbell, Hussey, and myself, the power usually employed has not been above 350. In spite of all drawbacks a great many careful measures and drawings have been made at Mount Hamilton (more than one hundred good drawings), and we have every reason to be satisfied with the results, which we shall publish as soon as practicable.[1]

It may not be undesirable to give here a few considerations of a general character relating to the observations of Mars and to their interpretation, especially as the subject will be fresh in the minds of those readers who have seen the newspapers of the past summer.

The telegrams to the press have usually dealt either with the details of observation, which, of necessity, can scarcely be weighed at their proper value except by specialists, or else they have discussed the very wide questions whether the planet was inhabited by beings like ourselves, or even whether such beings were not actually engaged in making signals to astronomers on the earth for the purpose of

[1] I should like to call attention to the fact that the history of the great telescopes at Mount Hamilton and at Washington will serve to lay away finally a widely published opinion which we used to hear repeated every few weeks—namely, that great telescopes are of little use. The work of these two great telescopes (not to speak of many others) has conclusively shown their great superiority over less powerful instruments in every field of astronomy, in the observations of planets, nebulæ, stars, comets, satellites, in spectroscopy, and also in those departments of astronomical photography for which they are adapted. Smaller instruments have their appropriate fields, and in some of these they will always be more convenient than larger ones. But the great telescope, when properly used, is and will always be pre-eminent. The proof is easy to give, and I trust that we shall not hear any more idle detraction of the work of our great instrument-makers, the Clarks, or of their European rivals.

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opening communication with them. There is certainly no more important question in planetary astronomy than to determine whether our neighboring planets are or are not inhabited; but, as I have previously had occasion to remark, the problem of astronomy is at present far narrower. This problem is to determine whether or no any of the planets are fit for habitation. To solve this question it is necessary to construct the most accurate map of the planet's surface and to observe with the greatest care all the phenomena presented to the observer, and then to interpret the significant phenomena as well as possible by means of terrestrial analogies, if this be possible, or at least by means of analogies with other bodies in the solar system.

When this is done the conclusions so far reached will be disappointingly limited. It is necessary to remember, however, that even this narrow problem is amazingly difficult. Mars never approaches nearer to us than thirty-six million miles, and even with the magnificent telescopes of the present day it requires great skill and great patience to record the details which are visible to the practiced observer. An observer with little practice will find it extremely difficult even to verify what is already known. To make positive additions to our knowledge is no easy matter.

The average distance of the earth from the sun is about ninety-three million miles and the average distance of Mars from the sun is about one hundred and forty-two million miles. If, then, Mars, the earth, and the sun are in the same straight line and if the earth is *between* the sun and Mars (opposition), the distance of Mars from the earth will be about fifty million miles. The distance of the earth from the sun at different times varies very little from its average value. The earth's orbit about the sun is nearly a circle. The orbit of Mars, on the other hand, is quite eccentric. Its smallest distance from the sun is about one hundred and twenty-nine million miles and its greatest distance about one hundred and fifty-five million. Hence Mars at some oppositions may be as far as sixty-two million miles from the earth, while at others it will be as close as thirty-six million. The latter oppositions are called "favorable," and the term is correct if we regard the distance of Mars only. To a telescope properly placed on the earth the features of Mars will be best seen when the planet is nearest us. But, unfortunately, most of the large telescopes of the world are in the northern hemisphere, while Mars at "favorable" oppositions is very far south; so that to the largest telescopes available (Washington, Princeton, University of Virginia, Mount Hamilton in America;

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Pulkowa, Milan, Paris, Nice in Europe) the planet will appear at a very low altitude. Good vision in a powerful telescope requires that the line of sight shall not pass near the heated surface of the ground, since every disturbance of the earth's atmosphere is magnified in precisely the same ratio as the magnification of the object viewed. Hence it is that the truly favorable opportunities for viewing Mars with our present large telescopes are those when the planet is tolerably near us and at the same time pretty well north in the sky. The opposition of 1892 was very "favorable" as far as distance was concerned, but the altitude of the planet at Mount Hamilton was about 30°; in 1894 the planet will be considerably more distant, but its altitude will be about 61°, and we expect considerably more satisfactory opportunities then.

Professor Pickering, Director of the Harvard College Observatory, has recently called attention to the need for the permanent establishment of a very large telescope in the southern hemisphere, and the facts just cited show how important this suggestion is. There is probably no way in which a gift of three hundred thousand dollars could be made more useful to astronomy than in the establishment of a very large telescope in a favorable situation in South America. Its work would supplement and complete that of the great telescopes of the northern hemisphere in very many ways.

From the time of Galileo measures of all kinds have been made upon Mars, and many data relating to its motion, its dimensions, etc., are now well known. It will be convenient to collect these in a paragraph and to compare them with the corresponding data for the earth.

The diameter of Mars in miles is about forty-two hundred, so that its surface is about three-tenths that of our earth and its volume about one-seventh. Its mass is about one-ninth of the earth's mass and its density is some seven-tenths. Its gravity is thirty-eight-one-hundredths; that is, a body weighing one hundred pounds on the earth would weigh but thirty-eight on Mars. It rotates on its axis in twenty-four hours thirty-seven minutes and twenty-three seconds, that is, in about the same time as the earth; it is flattened at the poles like the earth; and its equator is inclined to its orbit just as the earth's is and by something like the same amount. It receives about three-sevenths as much of the sun's light and heat as falls upon the earth. It seems to be certain, moreover, that the atmosphere of Mars contains a considerable amount of watery vapor. The researches of M. Gerigny show that the tides on Mars have little to do with the

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changes observed on its surface. These figures show, on the whole, a family likeness between Mars and the earth. Mars is considerably smaller than our planet, but it apparently presents many analogies to it.

In some respects Mars appears in the telescope to be very much like the earth as we know it. There are certain markings, both reddish and dark-colored, which are, in a general way, fixed in position, in outline, and in color, and they are distributed so that a map of Mars does not at once appear to be violently unlike a map of the earth. If we take the dark areas on Mars for "seas" and the red areas for "land" (which has been done since the time of Galileo), the chart of the planet shows a southern hemisphere which is nearly all sea and a northern which is composed of many rounded islands or continents deeply intersected with gulfs and lakes and "canals" (long, straight, river-like markings some fifty to one hundred miles wide and often many hundred miles in length). There are also "polar-caps" of a brilliant white color (near the poles) and also certain "islands" in the southern hemisphere, which are often brilliantly white. At times brilliantly white dots appear in the continents also; and there are small dark areas which we may call "lakes."

I have said that the surface of Mars is not unlike that of the earth *as we know it*. But it is very unlike the surface of the earth as it would appear when viewed from another planet—from Mars itself, for example. The atmosphere of the earth is often completely filled with clouds. Certain regions like Alaska are nearly always cloudy. Now, nothing of this kind is to be seen on Mars. Its surface features are always equally well seen except at its poles and just along its borders. If the red areas on the planet are indeed land, the "coasts" are nearly always equally sharp when they are situated anywhere near the planet's centre. At the edges they appear to be covered with a dense absorbing medium which blots out the details. The dark areas are visible nearer to the edges than the red ones.

If the earth were to be viewed from a distant planet we should certainly see its envelope of clouds; and its continents and seas could only be seen in the clear regions. The earth would appear far more like the planet Venus than like the planet Mars. The analogies of telescopic appearance are thus very slight between the earth and Mars. It is only when we compare the appearance of the latter with what lies beneath the earth's envelope of air and clouds that any marked resemblance between the two can be traced.

Moreover, when we come to the smaller details of the surface of

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Mars the analogies become less and less striking. For example, what feature of the earth can be compared to one of the Martial "lakes" (*Fons Juventæ*), which was a single body of "water" in 1877, which vanished in 1879, which was two lakes in the early part of 1892, and which is again single? Where do we find on the earth long "canals" or "rivers" sixty miles wide, extending for hundreds of miles in nearly straight lines? And, on Mars, these "canals" are sometimes single and sometimes double![1] There is still another feature of Mars which has long seemed to me to be almost impossible of explanation on the ordinarily received theory. I refer to extensive curved streaks of pale yellow matter which underlie or overlie the dark Martial "oceans" (*e.g.*, the regions called by Schiaparelli *Deucalionis Regio*, *Hesperia*, etc.). If the dark areas in which they lie are water what may these be? Are they shoals like the Grand Banks of Newfoundland? Are they clouds overlying certain ocean currents? (It is to be noted that these streaks curve in a direction *opposite* to that of the planet's rotation.) Neither explanation seems to be tenable; nor can we readily see how such faint colored areas (presumably "land" since they are colored) can lie in the midst of the dark "water."

Galileo observed Mars in 1632 and suggested that the red areas of the planet's disc were land and the dark areas water. The planet was also observed by Huyghens (1656), Cassini and Hooke (1666), Maraldi (1706), Herschel (1781), Schroeter (1787), and by others. Their attention was given chiefly to determining the rotation-period, however.

Herschel concluded that the markings on Mars were of constant and determined shape and were permanently fixed to the body of the planet, and that the "planet has a considerable atmosphere, so that its inhabitants probably enjoy a situation in many respects similar to ours." Herschel's conclusions were generally received without examination until the time of Beer and Maedler (1830-39). They studied the planet assiduously, having for part of the time the use of the Berlin equatorial of nine inches aperture. The "polar-cap" which had been seen by Maraldi in 1716 was found to undergo variations in size; and when these changes were compared with the advance of the seasons on Mars they concluded that this cap was in fact snow and ice and that it waxed and waned as a snow-cap on the earth must do. Certain changes in the darker markings (which they considered to be water) seemed to them to be accounted for by the melting of the

[1] These double canals have been observed at Mount Hamilton both in 1890 and in 1892.

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Martial snows. The red areas ("land") seemed to have no direct analogies with our clouds, but yet seemed to show traces of obscuration at times, as if by clouds. These red regions were more definite and of deeper color in the Martial summers, paler and less definite in the winters. An atmosphere to Mars showed itself by causing the markings to appear less sharply defined at the planet's borders. Their general conclusion was a very conservative one, namely, that while there were resemblances between Mars and the earth, they did not dare to pronounce them very similar.

The map of Beer and Maedler remained the best representation of the planet until about 1862. From 1862 onward a very great number of excellent drawings were made by Secchi, Dawes, Kaiser, Lockyer, Terby, Knobel, Green, Flammarion, Loehse, Lassell, and others. But a new epoch in the study of the planet began with the work of Professor Schiaparelli in 1877. This work he has continued to the present day with both small and large telescopes.

Professor Schiaparelli has fixed the positions of the principal points of the planet's surface by a survey, and he has shown that they have remained constant since the time of Maedler and Kaiser. By a series of drawings he has constructed a most admirable map of the planet. On this map he has located the "continents" and the "seas" and has traced a very large number of "canals" (narrow, dark, straight lines) and shown that many of the latter appear at times to be doubled.[1] The elegant nomenclature which he has adopted in his map will be a pleasure to the classical student who may examine it. It is a scholar's review of antiquity. Professor Schiaparelli has, however, been very chary of hypotheses. I understand him to incline to the idea that the dark areas are probably water, and he has given some excellent reasons for his opinion. But most of his writings have been concerned with the pure results of observation, and he has scrupulously refrained from generalizations.

The object of the present paper is to present some of the views which have been advanced to explain the various phenomena seen on Mars, and I have selected three generalizations which all deserve attention. The first is by M. Flammarion, who has devoted a great deal of attention to the subject and has himself made a telescopic study of the planet. The next is by Mr. Brett, the distinguished artist of London. It is also founded on telescopic study and is espe-

[1] It is to be remarked in passing that certain features of the surface of Jupiter appear in pairs. The analogy is significant.

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cially interesting as being the interpretation by a painter of what nature presents to him. The last is by Professor Schaeberle, of the Lick Observatory, who has observed the planet under the best conditions at Mount Hamilton.

In the second volume of the "Bulletin" of the Astronomical Society of France, M. Flammarion has made an elaborate study of the drawings of Mars from 1659 to 1888, and at the close of this examination he feels authorized to draw these conclusions as established facts:

"There are markings on the surface of Mars which in all probability represent seas, lakes, regions of water of various kinds. These markings are permanent; they are seen to-day in the same regions where they were observed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are not atmospheric products, then, like the markings on Jupiter. While they are permanent, they are, however, not invariable. They change both in dimensions and in depth of tone in different years and without doubt at different times of the seasons of Mars. There are some regions which are specially variable. These appear to hold a middle place between continents and seas and to be marshy lands, which are, in turn, elevated above and submerged beneath a thin layer of water. The continents of Mars appear to be flat and subject to inundations in nearly all their extent. The northern hemisphere is more elevated than the southern; the seas are chiefly in the latter, and they do not appear to be deep. The evaporation on Mars is without doubt rapid and considerable. Water is perhaps not the only agent concerned in the changes on Mars. The general order of things is very different on the planet and on our earth."

I may be allowed to quote here a paragraph which I wrote in 1889 concerning the conclusions of M. Flammarion just given:

"This is not the place to examine his conclusions critically. In a general way they all depend upon the assumption that the darker markings upon Mars represent bodies of water. As this is quite probable (though by no means proved as yet), the theorems given above may serve as points of departure in the further working out of this plausible hypothesis."

I learn from M. Flammarion that he is just about to publish a book relating entirely to Mars, upon which he has been engaged for many years, and I understand that his conclusions will not be very different from those just quoted. I believe that he is satisfied that the dark markings on Mars can still be best explained by supposing them to be water. The observations which I have been able to make since 1889 seem to me to render this conclusion even still more doubtful than I then considered it.

A paper by Mr. John Brett, F.R.A.S., which appeared so long ago as 1877, has not, I think, received the attention it deserves. It is

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worth summarizing here in order to accent the very wide difference of views which may be held by observers and because of its suggestiveness in many regards. Mr. Brett begins by pointing out that Mars does not show the same delicacy of detail as Jupiter, for example, under like conditions; and he attributes to Mars on this account an atmosphere of considerable opacity. As the details of the surface generally vanish before they come to the edge, while they are best seen at the centre, and as the borders of the planet are the brightest, his conclusion is that the markings themselves lie beneath a tolerably dense atmosphere. It appears to me that this is a very important point and that it has not always been kept sufficiently in mind. Mr. Brett goes on to say that as the chief topographical features on Mars are permanent, the body of the planet must be solid. There are few or no clouds on Mars. This fact alone is fatal to the belief that the "land" and "water" on Mars act as on the earth. A whole opposition of Mars may pass and no changes in its atmosphere be made out.

It is certain (from spectroscopic observations) that watery vapor exists in the atmosphere of Mars. It does not necessarily follow that the vapor is anywhere condensed into visible clouds. If the polar-caps are veritable snow-caps, then visible clouds *must* exist in the atmosphere. Chilled water-vapor *must* produce clouds. As no evidences of clouds exist on the equatorial regions of the planet, Mr. Brett's conclusion is that the so-called "snow-caps" cannot be snow-fields at all. They are, he thinks, themselves clouds in the higher and colder regions of the atmosphere. The dark patches near them he supposes to be their shadows. He assumes that the regions near the poles are the only ones cool enough to condense the invisible water-vapor into visible clouds. Moreover, it follows that the general surface of the planet is hot—hot enough to make the formation of clouds impossible; and it is likely, consequently, that the "seas" are not water. I understand that the conclusions of the Potsdam observers favor Mr. Brett's theory.

The above summary compared with other theories indicates the wide difference between plausible explanations of the phenomena observed on Mars. The fact that such differences of opinion are even possible displays the unsatisfactory nature of our knowledge of this planet—and we know more of this planet than of any other.

Professor Schaeberle says: "Schiaparelli, Flammarion, and observers of Mars in general agree in calling the darker areas of Mars water and the brighter portions land. My own observations of 1890

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and 1892 have led me to just the opposite view." Some of his reasons for coming to such a conclusion are given below.

If the dark markings are water, how are we to explain the irregular gradations of shade in these parts, which, according to observation, are fixed surface features? If the dark markings are land, just such observed gradations would naturally be expected. Light reflected from a spherical surface of water would vary uniformly in intensity from the planet's centre toward its borders, the centre being the brightest, and the observations of the bright areas agree with this. If the dark areas are water, they should then be least dark toward the centre; but observations show that they are most conspicuously dark and the contrasts between light and shade are most strong at the centre of the disc. At certain times, which cannot be predicted, certain regions of limited extent, which are portions of bright areas, are seen to be more brilliant than other portions of the disc, as though the reflecting surface were in a state of agitation. These phenomena are like the reflections of light from a calm and from an agitated water surface respectively. Crossing the darker areas are still darker streaks which often extend hundreds of miles in nearly straight lines. The so-called "canals" in the red areas seem to be continuations of these darker streaks. The fainter markings called "canals" would correspond to the ridges of mountain chains which are almost wholly immersed in water, and the doubling of the canals would correspond to parallel ridges, of which our earth furnishes many examples. Professor Schaeberle gives several other examples of phenomena on Mars which go to show that the dark areas are more likely to be land than water, and he refers to a striking instance which is constantly visible from the summit of Mount Hamilton. We are here forty-two hundred feet above the neighboring valley, and San Francisco bay extends to within a few miles of us. Now, at all hours of the day and under all circumstances of sun and shadow the surface of the bay is brighter than the surface of the land surrounding it. The bright areas of this terrestrial landscape are water.

The observations of Professor Schaeberle are entirely independent, and the great number of admirable measures and drawings which he has made will bear witness to his skill and assiduity when they are published, as they soon will be. While his observations were going on I have myself examined the planet every night and I have compared its appearance with former drawings of my own. It appears to me that there are two very important remarks to be made in regard to

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his conclusions. I should not be inclined to say so strongly as he does that the dark areas of Mars are very much darker and better seen at the planet's centre than at its disc, and I should wish to insist strongly on a point first brought out by Professor Schiaparelli with regard to the canals; namely, that all the canals of the bright areas originate and end in the darker regions which are called "seas" or "lakes," or else terminate in other canals. In so far this seems to be a proof that they may be water. Mountain chains would not necessarily exhibit this peculiarity, while canals must do so. Again, while it is in general true that the red areas are brightest at the planet's centre, there are many notable exceptions to this. Certain "islands" in the southern hemisphere (Hellas, Argyre) I have often seen brightest at the borders, and the same phenomenon has been remarked with respect to some continental regions of the northern hemisphere. This remark, also, was first made by Professor Schiaparelli, and the results of Professor Schaeberle and myself, and so far as I know of all the Mount Hamilton observers, entirely agree with it. While the rule is as has been stated, there are then, I think, so many exceptions to it that it is difficult to come to a final judgment at present.

The three views which have just been given are representative; all of them are based on serious study, and at least two of them may be taken as authoritative. M. Flammarion regards it as very probable that the dark areas of Mars are water and the bright ones land. Professor Schaeberle's observations with the greatest telescope in the world, under the best possible conditions, lead him to precisely opposite conclusions. Mr. Brett doubts if land and water exist on Mars at all, and gives good reasons for deciding that the planet is in a heated state—as we suppose Jupiter to be, for example. Telescopic observations show that the planet Venus appears to a distant observer far more nearly like the earth than does Mars. When we come to an examination of the particularities of Mars' surface we find dissimilarity and not likeness to details of the earth's. Under these circumstances, and so long as such widely divergent views can be advocated by competent observers, it appears to me that the wise course is to reserve judgment and to strive for more light. I feel certain that when a satisfactory explanation is finally reached, the Lick Observatory will be found to have contributed its share to the solution.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

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THE LIBRARY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE cardinal object of a National Library should be the collection and preservation of the nation's literature. This postulate once granted, it follows that the method or law of its growth should be inclusive, not exclusive. The library of the Government, that is, the only one belonging to the whole people, is to contain all the books which the smaller and more select libraries have neither the room nor the means nor the motive to accumulate. The citizen in quest of any American book ever published should be assured of finding it in the one national repository provided as the conservator of the product of the nation's mind in every department of science or literature.

In this view, the Congressional or Government Library at Washington has been made by law the depository of all books and periodicals protected by copyright. All such publications are to be preserved, irrespective of their merit, some as works of reference, some as chronicles of the times, and not a few, doubtless, as models to be avoided. The apprehension is sometimes expressed that the National Library may become overloaded with trash, and so fail of its usefulness. "'Tis a lost fear." There is no act of Congress requiring all the books to be read. The reading world is perpetually winnowing and sifting the multifold productions of the press, and every book sooner or later finds its proper place and destiny, whether that destiny be a swift passport to oblivion or a certificate of immortality. The sense of the world is keen, and the survival of the fittest is as certain as that art is long. If it be objected that multitudes of books are not worth shelf-room, and that a wise selection from the mass should be made, thus adding value to the collection by weeding out the valueless, the answer is two-fold: First, there can be no critical authority competent to select, whose judgment would not be constantly called in question by authorities equally competent. What is trash to one may contain what another prizes as pure gold. Secondly, the assembling of all the works which the country has produced on any subject gives opportunity to all would-be writers to examine what has already been done in any field, and thus save countless misdirected

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efforts. The land is full of ambitious authors burning for utterance. The knowledge that what they are so anxious to say to the public has not only been said before, but a great deal better said than they can say it, might save them the mortification of publishing a neglected volume. Besides, one may learn as much from the failures of his predecessors as from their successes. An experienced educator, having occasion to compile a new spelling-book, went through the large collection of such school-books in the library at Washington and produced a better work, both as to selection and arrangement, than could ever have been done by his unaided efforts. This is one example among thousands, and it proves, *instar omnium*, the unexpected but undeniable utility of conserving every book, even of a class commonly and thoughtlessly deemed not worth preserving. The many books which have disappeared, even since the invention of printing, from the small editions printed, the ravages of fire, etc., serve to show how many publications may owe to a government library, charged by law with that duty, their sole chance of preservation.

While thus constituted the great repository of the nation's literature, our National Library has other and wider functions to discharge. As the library founded primarily for the use of our national legislature, it has always been a leading aim to render it as complete as may be in political science, in history, and in jurisprudence. Out of its 650,000 volumes, some 100,000 appertain to law and legislation, while in history, political economy, finance, statistical science, and sociology its stores are being constantly increased. At the same time, there being almost no subject treated in books which may not at some time be found important to the legislator in his labors, the collection has become one of almost universal range, though with very numerous gaps to be filled in every department. With all its deficiencies, most marked in the literature of foreign tongues, it may be said that the collection has been formed with a view to the highest utility and with some general unity of plan. By assiduous selections from sale catalogues and from the many private libraries constantly poured into auctions at home and abroad, many rare and valuable books are annually added and the more important new books of the day are secured. The appropriation of about $11,000 a year for this purpose (nearly $3,000 of which is required to keep up the continued serial publications which must be taken) seems ridiculously small when compared with the $60,000 annually devoted to the increase of the British Museum Library, or even with the sums expended by public

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libraries in some of our large cities. A want of room for increase, heretofore pleaded as an obstacle to more liberal appropriations, will shortly cease to stand in the way.

Brief reference may be made to some of the special collections which go to make up the aggregate of the Congressional Library. In books which are known as *Americana*, its treasures, while far from complete, are rich, and represent a goodly share of original editions and many of the *rarissima* so much prized by collectors. As the representative library of America, it is constantly sought to render it complete in all that relates to the discovery, settlement, history, biography, topography, natural history, etc., of the continent. The narratives of early voyages as well as of later travellers and observers, in whatever language, are mostly in the collection. A large share of the books produced in America in early days is to be found here, and the first editions of our writers of later times, now so much sought for, are well represented, though the existing copyright law has not been long enough in existence to bring in the larger share of them, many of which have been purchased. A long series of early American imprints, many of them representing places in which books are no longer printed, has been gathered.

The library is specially rich in newspapers and periodicals, both American and foreign. The only complete file in this country of the London "Gazette," from its origin in 1665, the London "Daily Times" from 1796, the German "*Allgemeine Zeitung*" from 1798, the Paris "*Moniteur*" and the "*Journal des Débats*" from their first issues in 1789, with full sets of most of the British reviews and magazines, are here, while in American periodicals a century and a half are represented. Of newspapers alone there are about 15,000 bound volumes, and no department of the library is more constantly used. The American journals include complete sets of several New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Southern newspapers, from the beginning of the century, and of those printed prior to 1800 there are about 300 volumes, being more than any library, except one, possesses. For many years it has been the usage to bind up files of at least two journals from each State and Territory in the Union representing each political party. All important American reviews and magazines are of course in the collection, and sets of numerous technical, literary, religious, legal, agricultural, pictorial, and miscellaneous journals are preserved.

Particularly important are the collections representing the publi-

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cations of foreign and American scientific associations. These were mainly added to the National Library through the Smithsonian Institution, and embrace some 50,000 volumes of the transactions, proceedings, and journals of most societies devoted to scientific or literary research, procured through the liberal system of exchanges of that institution. They embrace many rare and valuable series, some of which are now quite unattainable in complete form, and they furnish to students in every field of investigation invaluable material not readily to be found elsewhere.

The pamphlet collections of the library are varied and extensive, embracing some 250,000 English, American, and European pamphlets (not reckoned in the aggregate of books before given). The stores of American pamphlets of the last and the present century are especially rich, embracing among others the collections formed by William Duane and Ebenezer Hazard respectively, the latter an ardent Federalist and the former an equally ardent Republican, who preserved and bound most of the pamphlet literature of their time. To those who appreciate the very characteristic lights so frequently cast upon the politics and social elements of any period by the pamphleteers of the time, and the large use made of such materials for history by the most able and philosophical of modern historians, these treasures will be regarded as of high value.

While no American library outside of some few historical societies is rich in manuscripts, the library of the Government possesses a collection of some historical value. It embraces about seventy volumes of scrap-books filled with original military papers and letters, mainly of the period of the American Revolution, by generals and other army officers, letters of statesmen, etc. There are also eleven volumes of original papers of Commodore Paul Jones, two volumes of Major-General Greene's papers, two original journals of George Washington, about thirty Orderly books of the Revolutionary army, the original papers of the Marquis de Rochambeau, manuscript copies of several unpublished works on Spanish America by Las Casas, Duran, Panez, and Teniente, the MS. Records of the Virginia Company, 1619 to 1624, and many other manuscripts of interest.

The collection of maps comprises more than 10,000, among which early maps relating to America and many original MS. maps and plans by British, French, and American engineers, illustrative of camps, battles, and campaigns in the Revolutionary war, occupy a conspicuous place.

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The special library known as the Toner collection was presented to the United States in 1882 by Dr. J. M. Toner, of Washington. It embraces some 30,000 volumes of medical, historical, and miscellaneous books and a great mass of unbound material illustrative of American biography. As the first instance of the donation to the Government of the large library of a private citizen, it is worthy of special mention.

In the history of most public institutions there may usually be traced certain epochs or periods of foundation and of development. There have been several marked epochs in the progress of our National Library. Beginning in 1800, with the removal of Congress and the several departments of the Government to Washington, by the small appropriation of $3,000 for the purchase of books required for the use and reference of Congress, the entire collection was destroyed with the burning of the Capitol by the British in 1814. The purchase of ex-President Jefferson's library of 7,000 volumes followed, as the nucleus of a new collection, which had grown by slow accretion to 55,000 volumes in 1851, when a fire in the library rooms consumed all but 20,000 volumes of the collection. Congress at once voted $75,000 in one sum for the increase of the library, and $72,500 for rebuilding its apartments in solid iron—the first instance of the application of that material to form the interior of a public building in America. The next notable epoch in library history was the acquisition of the large historical library of Peter Force in 1867, together with the removal to the Capitol a little earlier of the scientific and miscellaneous library of the Smithsonian Institution. The collections were more than doubled in extent by these additions, although still numbering less than 165,000 volumes. In the year 1870 came by far the most important step forward in the annals of the library, through the enactment of the amended copyright law, by which all the records of American copyrights, as well as all deposits of copies of books and other publications in evidence of copyright, were transferred to Washington. This far-reaching measure secured prospectively to the library of the Government the whole annual product of the American press, so far as protected by copyright, thus endowing it with that fruitful source of increase which has been enjoyed from early times by the great government libraries of Europe. The law of growth thus established differentiates this collection from other American libraries, however well endowed.

The next important epoch was the provision for erecting a new

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and separate library building, to contain the invaluable stores of publications which the Capitol has long been inadequate to accommodate. The agitation for this indispensable necessity, begun in Congress as early as 1873, led to so great a variety of plans and to such conflict of opinion as to site, architects, and ultimate cost that its consummation was delayed, by repeated disagreements between the two Houses of Congress, until 1886, when the bill for the purchase of a site became a law. The building thus provided for, fire-proof in all its parts, has been planned with a view to the ultimate accommodation of nearly five million volumes. With a central reading-room one hundred feet in diameter, which will contain the more important and constantly used books of the collection, the outlying book repositories, in which the system of iron stacks with abundant space between is employed for the storage of books, will be gradually filled by the accessions of each advancing year.

When it is considered that the largest existing public library, that of the French government at Paris, contains as yet but 2,300,000 volumes, and that ample space exists in the edifice now rising on Capitol Hill for storing more than twice that number, it will be perceived that the wants of the future are well cared for. While nearly every government edifice appears to have been built only for a generation and its uses have long overgrown its limits, this one, through the far-sighted liberality of Congress, will provide room for the nation's books for nearly two centuries to come. The ultimate cost is limited to six millions of dollars, a sum somewhat less than half the cost of the Capitol or of the large building erected for the accommodation of the State, War, and Navy departments. The library building covers very nearly the same space as each of these government buildings (about three acres), and is constructed of solid granite, with iron, brick, and marble interior. Its ample interior courts and numerous windows will render it the best-lighted and best-ventilated library of large proportions yet erected.

There is no government institution of any considerable cost which is not frequently required to answer the inexorable query—"*Cui bono?*" To what end does it exist and what does it accomplish? In a popular government this is more peculiarly a pertinent inquiry, since every citizen has a voice in the making of the laws through which all government agencies perform their functions. He is, moreover, directly interested in the proper expenditure of the money raised by taxation from the whole people. Can the government library,

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then, justify its existence and the cost of its maintenance by its actual utility to the nation? This question is but partially answered in what has gone before. Viewed in a closer light, the value of a comprehensive national library to Congress, in its varied and responsible functions as the legislator for 65,000,000 of people, cannot be overrated. In the vast and complicated range of its powers are embraced all the questions of public welfare and economic science, the methods of taxation, the proper sphere of government, the foreign policy of the country, the surveys and explorations of public lands, the questions of immigration, quarantine, naturalization, inter-State commerce, internal revenue, customs, tariff, the postal system, patents and copyrights, education, agriculture, pensions, the military and naval establishments, territorial government, lighthouses and coast surveys, the policy toward Indians and the treatment of the Chinese, the fiscal system and the people's money, the public debt and its management, State rights and national supremacy, the fisheries, mining, manufactures, merchant shipping, foreign mails, the conduct of the civil service, and an infinitude of questions, new and old, constantly arising in our complex system of government. To say that every member of Congress is well informed upon all these subjects would be as far from the truth as to deny that many Senators and Representatives make an earnest and intelligent study of each question involved in their public labors. When the subject of restricting Chinese immigration is up, all the literature upon the races, from the fifteen-volume "*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*" of the early French missionaries in the flowery kingdom to Minister Seward's latest pamphlet on the Chinese question, is drawn upon. When Charles Sumner prepared the notable speech on Russian America which so largely influenced the purchase by the United States of the vast territory of Alaska, he drew nearly all the materials for his argument from the great arsenal in the Congressional Library. Not a problem in national or international policy is ever grappled with but has its lights or illustrations in the history or experience or discussions of other nations, which only the ample stores of a collection rich in books, pamphlets, and periodicals can supply. Of all nations the Americans are perhaps the most persistent in their search for precedents, although candor may require us to add that none is more ready to disregard them when found. The almost innumerable reports of committees in both houses of Congress often require on the part of those preparing them a breadth of information little comprehended by those who think the daily work of the legislator is light and easy.

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The administrative officers of the Government, in their various departments, have to deal with a range of subjects so comprehensive as to require access to the largest collections, legal, political, and scientific, for facts and references. They have in the limited store of books gathered in the departments and bureaus resources often found wholly inadequate to answer the numerous inquiries that arise. A great national library is the only means of supplying these constant calls for information in the many fields of research which have to be explored. The newspaper files of the principal cities here gathered have supplied large materials for detailed reports upon strikes and other labor difficulties, epidemics, etc., while the thousands of town and city and trade directories furnish other classes of information.

The uses made of the law department of the library are of cardinal importance. As the seat of the judicial tribunal of last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington should furnish the most comprehensive library of jurisprudence which can be assembled, while at the same time its stores in other directions should be rendered more and more complete every year. The judgments of the Court of Claims, the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and the Supreme Court, all located at the national capital, involve investigations which demand the widest range of authorities. And the bar of Washington and other cities, having causes before the Federal tribunals, find in the extensive collection which is at once the library of Congress and of the Supreme Court, professional aid which it is no misuse of words to term invaluable.

As to the general public use and frequentation of the Government Library, it may be said that it increases in a greater ratio than even the rapidly growing treasures of the collection itself. While there may be found persons narrow-minded enough to insist that it is no proper function of our democratic Government to provide a great library for the use of the citizens and visitors at the capital, the fact remains that the library has been gathered, primarily for the use of the national legislature and the judicial and executive branches of the Government, and in great part (through the copy-tax) without expense to the nation. Not to open so rich and extensive a collection to public use and reference just as freely as is consistent with its safety and preservation would be a monstrous perversion of the objects for which national libraries exist. Accordingly, the Congressional Library has from the beginning been open to adult readers, without formality or introduction, by an unwritten law which takes the place of statutes

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and makes the people partakers in its benefits. The government libraries of Europe, in like manner, though with more restrictions, are all accessible to students, and form one of the foremost attractions of the capitals in which they are found.

The readers who frequent the library at Washington form a composite class, in which, however, serious students predominate. There will be found, pursuing each his independent theme, readers from nearly all parts of the globe. The industrious compiler of facts and statistics, the searcher after quotations in poetry or prose, the ever-present person who has the genealogical fever in a mild, or acute, or chronic form, the student of history, the lover of art, the devotee of music, the editor who seeks topics or illustrations, the grubber of Greek roots, the naturalist exploring the vast field of the vegetable or animal kingdom, the student of social science, the lawyer comparing authorities and cases, the enthusiast who reads the mystics, the sporting man who follows up the pedigrees of horses, the preacher in search of homilies or commentaries, the investigator of heraldry, the devourer of French novels, the peruser of the daily newspaper or the literary serials, the young lady in quest of costumes, the old soldier renewing his memories of the civil war, the hunter after anecdotes and *bon mots*, the physician studying the history of epidemics, the reader who pursues the military art or naval science, the lover of biography, the youth who is hungry for books of adventure, the explorer who delights in voyages and travels, the absorbed admirer of poetry, the student of metaphysics, the reader of political or economic science, the architect in search of designs or models, the inquirer after the latest application of electricity—all these and many more come daily or hourly before the librarian or his assistants. Every great library must be one of universal range, to answer the multifarious demands upon it for ideas and information.

One of its uses must not be overlooked, namely, the facilities supplied to students in the many colleges and seminaries of learning, public and private, at the national capital. On a Saturday holiday the schools transfer many of their pupils to the library in quest of knowledge not elsewhere found upon the numerous topics of study or of composition which engage their attention. Its narrow and overcrowded halls would be still more thronged by this class of students were room to be found—a want which will be amply met in the new library building at a time not far remote. Frequent are the inquiries received by letter from all parts of the country, to learn whether cer-

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tain books are to be found in the collection; and it is gratifying to find that in the great majority of cases the authorities sought for can be consulted at Washington.

The legal requirement of two copies of each publication, as a condition of valid copyright, has been sometimes, though rarely, objected to as an exaction which might be dispensed with. A careful consideration of the *rationale* of the case, however, will vindicate the wisdom of the requirement. Obviously it is in the interest both of authors and publishers that every book or other publication should be somewhere preserved by law in a fire-proof accessible repository. It is equally in the interest of the people that the government library should possess for reference a complete collection of the products of the American press. It is no unreasonable condition for the Government to stipulate thus with authors and publishers: "Your country gives you the sole privilege of printing and selling your work, at your own price, for forty-two years; give the country, in consideration of this, two copies, one for the use and reference of Congress and the public in the National Library, the other for preservation in the copyright archives, in perpetual evidence of your right." In view of the valuable monopoly conferred by copyright, does not the Government in fact give much more than a full equivalent for the publications required? It is not a case of compulsory taxation: no one need furnish any copies unless he demands exclusive right to multiply them. Obviously, it would not be just to exact even one copy of publications not secured by copyright (the daily journals, for example). In this case the Government gives nothing and receives nothing; but the requirement of the protected publications, unfelt as it is by publishers, is manifestly in the interest of the public, as well as of authors and publishers themselves. In England five copies of every book published are exacted, for five different libraries, which appears somewhat unreasonable.

By the act of 1870, providing for the registry of all copyright titles in the office of the Librarian of Congress, the removal of the collection of copyright books from the overcrowded Patent Office to the Congressional Library was provided for. These publications were the accumulation of about eighty years, received from the United States District Clerks' offices all over the country (where copyright entries were made from 1790 to 1870). These deposits were found to number about 23,000 volumes, a much smaller number than had been anticipated, in view of the length of time during which the law of copy-

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right had been in operation. But the observance of the acts requiring deposits of copyright publications with the clerks of the United States Courts had been very defective (no penalty being provided for non-compliance) and, moreover, the Patent Office had failed to receive from the offices of original deposit large numbers of publications which should have been sent to Washington. From one of the oldest of the Eastern States not a single book had ever been sent in evidence of copyright. The books, however, which were thus added to the library, although consisting largely of school-books and the minor literature of the last half-century, comprised many valuable additions to the collection of American books.

The whole number of entries of copyright in the United States since we became a nation considerably exceeds three-quarters of a million. It may be of interest to exhibit the progress of American enterprise as shown in the aggregate number of publications registered for copyright in each year since the removal of the entire records to Washington in July, 1870.

1870..... 5,600	1878..... 15,798	1886..... 31,241
1871..... 12,688	1879..... 18,125	1887..... 35,083
1872..... 14,164	1880..... 20,686	1888..... 38,225
1873..... 15,352	1881..... 21,075	1889..... 40,777
1874..... 16,283	1882 22,918	1890. 42,758
1875..... 14,364	1883..... 25,273	1891..... 48,908
1876..... 14,882	1884..... 26,893	
1877..... 15,758	1885..... 28,410	Total... 525,261

The reduced number of entries from 1875 to 1878 was owing to a removal, by act of 1874, of the registration of all prints and labels (previously copyrighted) to the Patent Office. The records of copyright had been encumbered with a great mass of so-called publications having no relation whatever to literature, but belonging to the merchanic arts, as illustrating articles of manufacture. The number of these was about 5,000 annually, and notwithstanding their withdrawal, the increase in the aggregate of other publications has been so extensive as to exhibit a marked advance in the publishing activities of the country.

Of course this large exhibit of copyrights (now annually more than double the average registry of patents) is far from representing books alone. Many thousands of entries are periodicals, claiming copyright protection and required by law to register every separate issue just as the volumes of books are entered. These embrace a great variety of

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weekly journals, literary, scientific, religious, pictorial, technical, commercial, educational, agricultural, sporting, humorous, musical, dramatic, etc., including a number in foreign languages. The registry of serials also includes nearly all the largely circulated monthly and quarterly magazines and reviews, with many devoted to specialties, *e.g.*, sociology, law, finance, education, art, fashion, mechanics, theology, metaphysics, trade, manufactures, stock-raising, and the arts and sciences generally. The next largest class of copyrights, embracing some 8,000 a year, consists of musical compositions, many of which are held as valuable property. There are also accumulated, under the law of copyright, a great number and variety of works of graphic art—engravings, lithographs, photographs, photogravures, etchings, chromos, prints, and drawings. Many of these are of great beauty and value, and representing, as they do, many years of the progress of the arts of design, they will form in the new library building, where a gallery of ample proportions is to be devoted to their arrangement, an art exhibition both interesting and instructive.

Through the enactment in 1891 of the law of International Copyright, the receipts of new publications of all kinds at the Congressional Library will be largely increased. The foreign accessions have hitherto been most extensive in musical compositions and fine-art publications; but with the growth in literary production which an extension of the area of copyright may in time induce, many books will flow in to the collection from Great Britain and from some of the continental nations. This experimental act is yet to be fully tried, and the conflicting opinions upon its merits await the results of actual experience. In any event, a literature which has exhibited such evidences of growth and vigor as that of America is in no danger of arrested development. And as the various libraries of the departments and bureaus of the Government are steadily enriching the most extensive collection which the country possesses by such of their accumulations as are not needed for their special uses, it will grow continually more worthy of the title first bestowed upon it by Mr. Jefferson, "The Library of the United States."

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

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THE MATTER WITH THE SMALL FARMER.

WHATEVER may be the condition of agricultural interests elsewhere, there is no doubt that the small farmer who plants cotton in the South is embarrassed, and the future holds out little hope of relief through established methods. He knows what it is to work hard and live scantily, for from choice or necessity he has tried it for years. Every Spring he has set to work with all the hope that is inseparably connected with the turning up of the mellow soil with the plough and the new birth of nature, and yet every Autumn his chief harvest has been disappointment. He finds himself in Summer with a mortgage on his land and his mule and a lien on his growing crop, while "futures" are quoted at less than the cost of production. He is not a theoretical economist; indeed, his ideas of economics are often as crude as the crudest raw material he produces; yet he knows that he cannot go on losing year after year without winding up in the almshouse. Hence his restlessness, his willingness to listen to any plan of redemption, provided it has never been tried before. He has heard, he thinks, enough of the old ways. They cannot help him.

If he has toiled faithfully all these years, as many farmers have, and is yet penniless, he feels that misfortune has come not through his remissness, but is the result of some extrinsic baleful influence. There is injustice somewhere; some one is walking off with the surplus that he sees accumulating and believes should be his. The next step is to catch the thief. The small farmer believes he has found him skulking in Wall Street, or hiding behind railway embankments, or lurking in the vaults of national banks. The plutocrats of the land, leagued with "debauched and bamboozled" politicians, have so managed the Government and manipulated the finances that the poor man has no chance. He is told that if he can capture the strongholds of political power and use the Government for his behoof, as his oppressors have used it for theirs, he can solve the problem and make himself and everybody else happy by coining plenty of silver dollars to lend to agriculturists at nominal interest. Hence his eagerness to leave the harvest for the political field, and to seek through legisla-

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tion a panacea for his ills. This seems to be a just presentation of the problem of the Southern small farmer to-day. It is well to see whether his solution of it is correct.

No one can successfully deny that legislation by Congress for the past generation has not been in the interest of agriculture or of the small farmer. Other classes have been helped, other interests built up. That this was a necessity to preserve the Government at a critical period must, to a certain extent, be admitted. But it is no less true that in accomplishing some good results this legislation ushered in a brood of evils. Simple justice requires that political inequalities be abolished, and that class legislation not in the interest of the farmer be repealed, and that class legislation in his interest must not be attempted. He must have his equal rights before the law. Indeed, as he cannot enter into combinations so easily as other classes can, it may be proper to provide that they be watched in his behalf. This is all he should demand or receive from the law.

But grant all the remedial legislation necessary to put the farmer on equal terms before the law; abolish artificial monopolies, prevent illegal combinations, increase to its proper volume the currency—and yet the problem is not solved. There are natural causes operating more potent than alleged plutocratic legislation for good or ill to the farmer. So long as they exist he may be relieved of the injustice of man, yet his prosperity is not assured. His effort must also be to strengthen those forces that aid him and to counteract those that operate to make him poor. Without attempting to advance any new truths, I desire to point out how some embarrassments have come about regardless of legislation, and how some facts adduced to prove discriminations against the farmer are actually to some extent proofs of improvement in his condition and productive power. It is well to begin with this latter class.

It has been held as proof of the fact that the farmers are growing poorer that farm values were seventy per cent of all the wealth of the country in 1850, about fifty per cent in 1860, and are less than twenty-five per cent now. Absolutely, the value of farms increased from four billion dollars in 1850 to eight billion dollars in 1860, eleven billion dollars in 1870, and twelve billion dollars in 1880. The statistics for the last census have not been computed. While I am firmly convinced that the tariff has been a very potent factor in this comparative diminution of agricultural values, and that other legislation also has contributed to the same result, yet natural causes are

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enough to account for a large share of the change. In a new country the industries are chiefly extractive, because of the fertility of the virgin soil. As civilization progresses industry is diversified and wealth is turned to other investments. The most prosperous country is one that has both a town and a country population for the interchange of commodities. Yet here the proportion of farm values cannot be as great as in a community purely agricultural. It does not follow that the farmer is worse off than his father merely because his proportion of the total wealth is not so great. In all that makes for comfort and all that goes for wealth he may be much more prosperous. The aggregation of men into cities wonderfully enhances the value of real estate; so that one acre in New York is balanced against hundreds of thousands of acres in South Carolina. But this great cost of city lots is rather a burden on the people than an advantage.

The diversification of industry leads to division of labor between man and man and man and machinery. To the extent to which machinery can be introduced, it will swell the amount of wealth invested in an industry. Agriculture, especially on a small scale, cannot use as much machinery as other industries, and its fixed capital cannot be increased in the same way. It will never appear on the census in its full power as a factor of production. Were all the persons who engaged in agriculture counted as fixed wealth, as slaves were before the war, the sum invested in farming would be greatly increased in the census. In South Carolina in 1860 there were, in round numbers, four hundred thousand blacks, rated on the tax-books as two hundred million dollars. The emancipation proclamation struck off every dollar from the books, but left every muscle and every sinew as before. Though wealth disappeared, productive power of labor was untouched. To-day, were every one of the eight million of agricultural producers of the land touched with a wand and transformed into automata moving perfectly, yet without life, how greatly would the wealth of the land be swelled! At least four billions would be added to the agricultural column of the census. Yet would the world be richer or agriculture better off?

Is it true that the increase of capital in other occupations is a menace to the farmer? Is he worse off than when he owned seventy per cent of the wealth of the country? My grandmother was a girl ten years old when the embargo destroyed foreign trade. She was taught to spin and to weave, as all "notable housewives" of the time were. She learned from her mother the song—

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"I eat my own ham,
My mutton and lamb,
I weave my own cloth
And I wear it."

When the war of 1860 broke out and the Federal fleet was magnanimously aiding Confederates to "establish infant industries" by cutting them off from the pauper products of Europe, this good old lady, recalling her experience of a half-century before, called a number of her female servants around her, stocked a "loom house," and organized a factory for the clothing of the whites and blacks on the place. Her plant might have been valued as follows: A dozen spinners, eight hundred dollars each; a dozen outfits, cards, wheels, etc., ten dollars each; and two looms, etc., twenty-five dollars each; total, nine thousand seven hundred and seventy dollars. Emancipation reduced the value of the plant to one hundred and seventy dollars. Was the community poorer than before? Was the farm worse off because the opening of communication allowed its dwellers to buy better cloth at less price, or because in consequence of the principle of division of labor the spinning and weaving came to be placed in another category than farm production? By fitting up the farm factory with looms and spindles run by machinery, this part of production might still have gone to swell the aggregate of farm values. But all persons concerned were glad enough to drop the manufacture of cloth. Reflection will convince any thoughtful farmer that this very differentiation of property by manufacturing, always provided he has not to pay extra for it, is one of the chief benefits that have accrued to him through the spread of industrial civilization.

The fact that railroad values are nearly equal to farm values in the United States is cited as another proof that somebody is swindling; else how can an industry that was not known to the census of 1820 rival one that existed from the time of Cain? Let us see what this means. In primitive civilizations goods and effects are moved on the backs and heads of persons. The introduction of draught animals was a vast stride forward. But when through differentiation one class of bread-winners undertake to do all the hauling for others, it does not follow that the rest are swindled, although the census does not "show up" on the "right side."

I have a copy of a letter written in 1814 by Capt. Samuel Johnson, of Winnsboro', S. C., to the Hon. David R. Evans, member of Congress from the same place, then in Washington. The embargo had

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shut up cotton in the interior towns, and there was a glut of it. Mr. Evans is asked to go out and see some factor or merchant in Washington or Philadelphia and try to sell him about two hundred and fifty bales for Captain Johnson. But the buyer must send down his own wagons for the cotton, as all the wagons about Winnsboro' are already engaged. An old citizen of Winnsboro', Mr. J. M. Elliott, distinctly remembers seeing Mr. Adger and others starting from Winnsboro' in wagons, hauling cotton to Philadelphia. At that time these mules and wagons were estimated as a part of farm values. Since then the railroad has made its appearance, and farmers no longer are required to keep horses and wagons to haul their crops to seaports. The property thus invested has gone into another category, that of "Trade and Transportation," and is cited as an instance of injustice to the farmer. Once, indeed, the sons of those old farmers hauled goods from Winnsboro' in wagons—when the close of the war left the railroad destroyed. They were quite willing to transfer the capital invested in teams into something else as soon as the railroad was running again.

In the War of 1812 the price of cotton varied at least twenty cents a pound between Winnsboro', S. C., and Philadelphia. This difference was swallowed up in the mire and mud of the dirt roads. It did nobody any good. Now, since so much capital engaged in transportation is transferred to the other side, the difference in price is not more than a cent. This should not be accounted a wrong to the farmer. Of the same nature is the investment of capital in the telegraph, in banks, and in other devices by means of which the farmer can be made cognizant of prices all over the world and may send and receive money from all quarters at a minimum cost. One other case may be cited. Is it a wrong that great sewing-machine factories have sprung up, transferring capital, it is true, from the farm, but enabling one woman to do the work of a dozen? The mother of the family is emancipated from a grinding slavery. Her machine is valued at forty dollars, while the woman set free does not appear in the dollars-and-cents column of the census. It may be remarked that the introduction of labor-saving machinery in any industry not only helps it, but also aids other industries, by allowing opportunity for the introduction of abundant manual labor where machinery cannot be introduced. These are instances of the beneficial effects to the farmer of differentiation. Now let us consider some of his disadvantages.

Smaller returns are required from those processes into which fixed

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capital enters. Where all the operations are performed by manual labor, an expenditure of one thousand dollars must all be paid back with a profit at every process, whereas if five hundred dollars have been invested in a machine and five hundred dollars in wages and material, it is necessary to return only five hundred dollars with a profit and enough more to pay for wear and tear of machinery. As the farmer's expenses are largely for wages and materials, his gross proceeds must be larger in proportion than those from manufactures.

Possibly the most serious drawback to the small farmer of the South-Atlantic coast arises from the law of diminishing returns from land. The soil of most of the older States long ago lost its original powers. Farms at present productive have been built up by application of capital and labor. They yield not economic rent, but profit from capital, and therefore returns from them must be divided between the original investment and the special application for the immediate crop. The difference is the same as that between finding a barn already built and building one. Yazoo bottoms and Red River lands need only to be tickled to smile with such abundant crops that the problem is to gather them. Carolina uplands must be tilled and fertilized and fertilized again, and the average yield is a bale to three acres. No legislation will equalize this natural difference.

Ordinarily, the nearer a producer comes in contact with the original powers of the land in his production, the less the additional value imparted by his efforts. Unskilled labor and crude materials are too much open to competition to enjoy great exchange value. A pound of sugar or of cotton or of iron is worth but a few cents; yet woven into delicate fabrics, or made into choice confections, or fabricated into Damascus blades, the increase is such that the cost of the raw material scarcely enters into consideration. Less physical effort is required to make a watch than to raise a bale of cotton, but there is no comparison between the wages of the jeweller and of the field-hand. The remuneration of labor depends largely on the extent to which the skill of the workman can be applied to the raw material. This most important point is apparently overlooked by all those who so vehemently affirm that the farmer is the only producer and that his labor is not properly paid.

As a compensation for all this it may be said that free competition tends to bring things into market at a price proportioned to their cost of production. The tendency is always for extractive industries to rise and manufactured goods to fall in proportion as civilization ad-

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vances and population increases. The condition of England before the tariff on corn was repealed is an example of this. Were there no new lands and no large farms in the Union, it is possible the farmers would gain in increased prices for food and necessaries all they might lose in diminished production. With a population as dense as that of Japan they would be the prosperous class. Right here comes in the tariff to prevent this free trade. Cotton is not protected, while goods needed by the farmer are protected. This cannot be successfully denied—but it is no part of this article to discuss the tariff.

But we should investigate the conditions inherent in agriculture itself. A still more formidable drawback to the small farmer is the competition of the huge plantations of the West. Fertile lands admit of production at little cost; and cotton can be sold at prices that cannot be other than ruinous to the small farmer. There is little more in common between the wheat king of the West and the one-horse farmer of the East than between Mr. Carnegie and Longfellow's "village blacksmith." In olden times the want of intercommunication often permitted large difference in prices of the same thing in different places; but the farmer feels that this is not true now. The law can hardly be held responsible for this competition, nor would it be removed should Congress see fit to enact a free-coinage bill or even to establish a warehouse in every county.

The competition among producers must grow stronger every year as methods of production are improved. Under a *régime* of manual labor, the cost of picking or hoeing would be the same whether one hand or a hundred be at work. But wherever steam-driven gang-ploughs and cotton-harvesters can be used the small farmer will be at still greater disadvantage. In the West the problem is not so much to raise cotton, but to pick it out, and much lint is left in the fields. It would pay to run a machine over the field and extract three-fourths, whereas on poor lands it is necessary to extract the fruit of the last boll, and this is tedious and costly work. The Yazoo delta is said to be capable of producing the cotton supply for the world; and here machinery can be applied. To talk of limiting production is idle. The tendency will be rather to increase it; and many well-informed persons believe that the cotton problem will be solved when the production of the Gulf States is so great as to bring prices down to three or four cents, and thus to run all the poorer farms out of the business. This is the chief danger to the small farmer. Congress cannot prevent this competition with the large planter.

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But the most important factor in this problem seems not to have been properly considered in discussions of this subject. It is what may be called the Fixed Charge of the Family. "A poor man for children," runs the old adage. These blessings swarm around the small farmer's door, healthy, happy, and always hungry—omnivorous as so many ostriches. The support of these must come from the proceeds of the crop, whether large or small. This fixed charge cannot be approximated with any degree of certainty in the absence of statistics. Reports of the Bureau of Labor for the iron industry apportion an expenditure of four hundred dollars as follows: food, one hundred and eighty-five dollars; clothing, eighty-five dollars; fuel and lights, thirty dollars; furniture, taxes, insurance, sickness, amusements, religion, etc., one hundred dollars. It is a sad truth that very many farmers are compelled to live on much less than this. But if we assume four hundred dollars as the income of the farmer, it will be seen that if he devotes himself exclusively to cotton in order to secure advances based on cotton—the only cash crop he can make—it will not be enough to charge against the crop the amount expended in legitimate production, such as ploughing, hoeing, picking, ginning, rent, etc. The bill for the support of the non-producing members of the family must also be paid. Cost of production thus becomes a very different thing from the cost of the family.

No absolute figures can be given as to the cost of production proper. A planter in Georgia says that after the land has been brought to a high pitch of cultivation, a pound of cotton can be made for four cents. This is far below the average cost. The most successful culture is about twenty bales to the mule, but the average is probably less than ten. Taking the most favorable case claimed, a cost of four cents and a selling price of eight, there will be a profit of two hundred dollars on ten bales. Assuming a profit of ten dollars a bale, this crop would yield but one hundred dollars for the family charge. At the present state of the market the profit is still less. In mathematical terms it may be said that for any fixed standard of living the farm burden equals the cost of production (comprising the outlay of all kinds needed to make the crop) plus the cost of the family. As the latter charge is to some extent constant, it follows that the smaller the farm the heavier the burden on the farmer. While a profit of ten dollars each on forty bales will meet a charge of four hundred dollars, such a profit on ten bales means exceedingly straitened circumstances. When the standard of living is lower

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the fixed charge is less, and for this reason the white farmer is pressed by his black neighbor, who, though less skilful generally, has fewer needs. In the same way, with a given standard, the larger the crop the less the proportion of the fixed charge. Here comes another advantage to the large planter. Not only can he make his crop cheaper per pound through improved facilities, but a smaller profit on each bale suffices for outside needs. Such laws of inequality come from above. They are not found on our earthly statute-books.

Yet no one can say that farming does not pay in the sense that other occupations and trades pay. If a pound of cotton can be produced for five cents and sold for seven, here is a profit of forty per cent. What other business pays more? The owner of a share in a national bank thinks he is doing well if he receives a dividend of eight per cent; but he does not hope to live entirely on an investment of five hundred dollars in bank stock. In the cotton-spinning business an individual will buy a share of stock, and then he will hire himself to the concern for wages or go into some other business. The farmer is at once landlord, capitalist, and laborer. He makes full wages as laborer and a fair rent and fair profit on his investment; but the trouble is that his investment is too small for his family. The fixed charge of the family falls heavily on all small producers. But in other industries the forces of production are generally classified and the workers are paid in wages. When they suffer the cause is easily seen, and the remedy is a rise in wages. But the small farmer cannot strike against himself for higher wages.

Enough has been said to show that many of the most serious burdens resting on small farmers are imposed by natural causes. The object of this paper is to diagnose the disease rather than to prescribe a remedy. Those economic physicians that have faith in their ability to cure all diseases may prepare their legislative lotions and political panaceas. When they give them to the patient, his best plan will be to take them and throw them out of the window. Then he must come out and face nature and grapple with her for the mastery.

It may be suggested, in conclusion, that the small farmer should more and more endeavor to leave the production of the staple crops to large planters and devote himself to "small farming" indeed. He has muscle and he has land in plenty. He greatly needs capital to utilize them to the best advantage. Denunciation of railroads, factories, and banks will hardly make him more prosperous.

R. Means Davis.

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FOR WHOM I SHALL VOTE AND WHY.

Mr. Schouler's Preference.

The present campaign is a singular one, and in one important respect unprecedented. Each candidate of the two great parties in opposition has served as President already and seeks the honor of a second official term. Both candidates are in personal character above reproach. Both are true to political principles as they understand them; Harrison somewhat bigoted in his loyalty, Cleveland disposed to extend the blessings of conciliation and harmony to the whole country. Both have proved themselves competent at least, as administrators. Each of the two disfavors the latest cheap-money heresy of "free silver"—at the same time that Harrison has yielded much already to the schemes of our silver kings for unloading their mines upon the Treasury. In either case the current of sentiment has compelled a renomination rather than the wishes of the managers. Each candidate has antagonized mischievous elements within his party which cannot honorably be pacified. In neither instance can we regard the possible succession of a Vice-President, in case of death or constitutional disability, without grave apprehension.

This is not, then, a Presidential canvass for rampant imagination over newly discovered candidates nor for enthusiasm born of folly. Campaign biographers may well be dispensed with, and better still, the whole brood of campaign vilifiers. The next President constitutionally chosen will be, if he lives, a President who has served the people already; and by his past record he should be judged. Viewing the canvass from such a stand-point, I prefer to give my independent ballot to Cleveland. I think the honor of a second term belongs to him rather than to Harrison, because the country dealt unjustly by him four years ago and because, furthermore, of his sturdier character, his broader vision, and the superior strength of the political principles which he represents. There is no man in the whole Union who in person, speech, and example embodies so thoroughly the ideal of a political leader—of a man of the people who is not a flatterer of the people. He is a sound Democrat because he seeks the good of

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the Democracy; a sound American because his policy is to bind up the old wounds of civil strife and to unite the country. Under oppressive discouragements of his former term of office he proved himself a wise, sagacious, and forbearing chief magistrate, and above all a courageous one. New to national experience, he made his chief appointments with rare discretion, and no suspicion of jobbery attached to his executive circle at the capital. In the conduct of our foreign relations, though checked and thwarted, as in official patronage, by a hostile Senate, his efforts were fair and friendly; he did not bully the weaker powers nor entangle his country with the stronger ones. Internal affairs he managed with honest prudence and good sense; liberal in all expenditures which might redound to the general safety and welfare, he was the lion of the Treasury in the interest of the whole community, against the parasites of class and corrupt legislation; he even risked the wrath of soldier claimants, who asked to bankrupt what they had defended, whose spoliation was in the name of uncommuted loyalty. He encouraged no mercenary alliance between monopolists and the military such as brought to ruin the old Roman republic, but taught while he could that the richest reward of patriotic devotion in times of public danger is its sacrifice. He faithfully reduced the public debt and accumulated a handsome surplus. He left the country more prosperous under his direction than he found it. Had he not led heroically to a higher plane of needful achievement, where bloated and pampered industries were coiled up to oppose him, his re-election was certain. Unlike the meaner brood of politicians who skulk for popularity, he held and still maintains the lead in a great national party by praising right principles and striving, through good or ill report, to advance them.

As for the party principles at issue, my preference is not less decidedly for those which Cleveland represents. His cause is that of the consumers, of the community, of all who wish free opportunities in life, as opposed to paternal government and privileged monopolies. The McKinley bill taxes the whole people arbitrarily and outrageously for the necessaries of life in order that the investors in American manufactures may control the market and charge higher prices. No tariffs before the Civil War imposed such exorbitant rates or even approached them. In some instances these new rates are prohibitory; and even the raw materials of our native manufacture are burdened with taxation which falls upon the customer. It is not free trade that offers the alternative to this iniquitous contrivance for shutting out all for-

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eign commodities—we shall never have free trade while this Union requires an annual revenue—but it is liberal trade with the world as opposed to close trade and to the Chinese wall of a home market. Where in all the legislation favored by our earlier Presidents and statesmen was protection practically treated as more than an incident to needful revenue? The fostering of our infant industries after the War of 1812 was the last step taken in freeing ourselves from our long colonial dependence upon Great Britain; and close trade was at that era, moreover, the policy of England and of all the great European powers. Reciprocity was thoroughly tried in those times, and the result pronounced unsatisfactory; for it made complex trade relations, binding us to powers we cared little about and repelling those whose intercourse we most desired. What were the maximum duties of protection under Clay's "American system," as compared with the present? The act of 1828, known as the "tariff of abominations," fixed the rate at forty to forty-five per cent for woollen and other native industries, to please the manufacturers; and so great was Southern discontent in consequence that Clay himself came forward to reduce what in these days would be thought a moderate scale. When, still later, Great Britain repealed her corn laws, throwing open her ports to free trade and her markets to American farm products, we met her with the low-tariff act of 1846; and so advantageously did that new policy work for American interests, manufactures with the rest, that the people, down to the Civil War, had no wish to change it. War tariffs succeeded for producing revenue in a terrible emergency; Northern manufacturers were enriched, but the American commerce which had lately whitened every sea was dispersed.

Now that the exhausting conflict is over and finances are reduced to a peace basis, these war duties should be reduced again in the interests of the people. But the present situation is far worse. Subsidies and war gratuities are massed together to dissipate the accumulating surplus; and launching into extravagances of every kind to empty the Treasury, Congress strains the war tariff to still higher and unprecedented rates for the prime benefit of mill-owning capitalists and the pretended advantage of American labor. For the first time the pernicious and unconstitutional theory is put into full practice, that instead of making protection incidental to a revenue the revenue may be made incidental to protection. Had we, on the other hand, commerce and agriculture less burdened and manufactures left more to their natural condition, we should have fewer of

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those insurrectionary strifes between labor and capital which call for military suppression and force.

So far as "free silver" may be considered at this time a national issue, I trust most a President who is fearless and outspoken and whose words carry popular weight; for if we are to reach right soundings on the metallic question, we shall need a leader who can give to public opinion not merely a negative but a positive direction. And of two evils, I would rather take my chance with honest folly than the contrivers of selfish advantage. I do not depreciate the difficult situation of Democratic politics in New York State; and I should be glad to have Cleveland owe his election, as he did his nomination, to votes from elsewhere. But the attraction of vicious support to a good and uncorrupt candidate ought not to repel the honest and intelligent; on the contrary, the best assurance of good administration consists, under such circumstances, as it seems to me, in strengthening the candidate's hands.

JAMES SCHOULER.

MR. SCHIFF'S PREFERENCE.

I INTEND to cast my vote for Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid, the nominees of the Republican party, because experience has taught that, while the Democratic party has its good and healthful uses as an opposition party, the moment it gets into actual power it is apt to become a threat to the substantial interests of the country.

Mr. Cleveland stands, as is emphasized by his most ardent supporters, far above his party; but he has in the past frequently been unable to control and to restrain it. Moreover, I could not conscientiously vote for a Vice-President for whom I should not be prepared to vote were he nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic nominee for the second place, or, as it might properly be expressed, the party's candidate for possible President, stands upon record as having sought re-election to Congress upon the distinct claim of having voted against the Resumption Act, for the full remonetization of silver without limitation of coinage, and for an unlimited supply of legal-tender currency to be receivable in payment of all debts, public and private. If, as is claimed, he has recently modified his views, I must necessarily assume that he is prompted therein by the same motives which induced him to cater to financial anarchism when he sought election to Congress as the representative

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of the Greenback party, and I cannot convince myself that it is safe to make a man who has ever held these views the possible arbiter of the weal and prosperity of sixty millions of people.

It is the avowed purpose of the Democratic party, as expressed in its National Platform, to facilitate a return to an obnoxious bank-note system, through which in years passed wide-spread loss, misery, and disaster were inflicted upon our people and commerce: upon the abolition of the prohibitory tax upon State Banks we should again have to deal with all the complications of a chaotic currency. With a great majority in the Democratic party appearing unsound upon far-reaching financial questions, with the eventuality existing of its nominee for the Vice-Presidency, if elected, being called upon to fill the Presidential chair, with the power he acquires as presiding officer of the United States Senate, having there the final decision on any tie vote, Democratic success in the coming election would, in my opinion, become a perpetual menace to the prosperity of the country.

The present tariff was, after exhaustive consideration, adopted by the votes of the representatives of the nation; to change it radically after so short an existence after commercial and industrial affairs have only just adjusted themselves to the basis of the new tariff, or even to create the probability of the imminence of such an attempt through the election of a Democratic administration and Congress, would necessarily lead to an immediate unsettlement of all commercial and industrial affairs and to consequent wide-spread depression.

Solely through President Harrison's continuous and firm declarations that no Free-Coinage bill should receive his support or signature, the country was saved from the financial panic which would have been unavoidable when an overwhelming majority of the Democratic representatives in Congress, immediately after and in spite of the party's declaration in its Chicago platform, attempted and came very near passing a Free-Coinage law; this attempt was alone frustrated (if the direct representatives of the silver States are excepted) through the firm action of the Republican Representatives and Senators.

President Harrison's administration has proven entirely satisfactory; his nominations for judicial offices, the most important at the Executive's disposal, have been quite unexceptional, far above those made under Mr. Cleveland's administration.

The Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency is a man of superior qualities, sound upon financial questions, in whose keeping, should he be called to the Presidential chair, the interests of the

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country will be as safe as they are certain to be in the hands of President Harrison should he again be elected to the high office he now occupies. JACOB H. SCHIFF.

MR. MACVEAGH'S PREFERENCE.

I INTEND to vote for Grover Cleveland because, in the first place, I am profoundly interested in tariff reform and consider it the duty of every man who believes in this reform to place it above party associations of however long standing, and to follow it wherever it leads. So much enlightenment has come into the public mind upon the subject of party fealty, that there is no longer excuse for a man who belongs to a party that does not represent his principles, or who ignores the immorality of voting party tickets from mere habit. I shall vote for Grover Cleveland because, in the next place, I want for the following reasons to see the Democratic party in power:

1. It is the only party through which tariff reform can be achieved, the Republican party having burned its bridges behind it.

2. A sound currency is at least as safe in the hands of the Democratic party as in the hands of the Republican party.

3. While neither of the parties heartily supports civil-service reform, the masses of the Democratic party have certainly approved of what Grover Cleveland has done for it; and that party is the only one that has ever selected for the Presidency a conspicuous civil-service reformer.

4. It opposes the reactionary Force Bill.

5. It is the party of ideas. Nothing could be more stagnant than our public life was before the Democratic party, with Grover Cleveland as its candidate, took up the work suggested by Tilden and sought to put itself in the forefront of American life. But from that time public life began to stir, and ideas began to take their place in it. The Democratic party is not an ideal party by any means. It has a great many men in it who do not care much for ideas and who care a great deal for spoils. In certain parts of the country the old system dies hard; but in those very parts of the country the new life, side by side with the old, is unquestionably at its highest point of development. And, taken all in all, the Democratic party has done exceedingly well, and is at any rate the only American party of ideas and progress. The result is that on all hands we see men of ideas, men of patriotic impulses, young and old, flocking to it; and none taking the vacant places in the Republican ranks.

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Nothing could more distinctly and emphatically prove the growing elevation of the Democratic party than its latest nomination of Cleveland. That is a high-water mark. Politics since the war have not before reached so high a point. It has made the fortune of the Democratic party.

I shall vote for Cleveland because, in the third place, I believe that he is the best man in America for the Presidency, and that he can be more useful to the people than any other man.

1. His election will determine the policy of the country as to tariff reform. If he is elected it cannot be pretended that the country will longer consent to go on on the lines laid down by McKinley. On the other hand, it will be equally certain that no extreme or over-hurried measures in the direction of free trade will be taken.

2. He would be a much greater influence in the currency controversy than President Harrison could possibly be.

3. Mr. Cleveland is the only civil-service reformer who has ever been nominated for the Presidency. I know what has been said of some things which he did when he was President. When elected in 1884 he was so much a civil-service reformer that it was practically his one political idea, and he doubtless intended to carry it into practice more completely than he afterward carried it. He soon found that there were other things to be done. Even before he got to Washington he had to take a hand in the silver question; and it was not very long after he was in the White House that he discovered that he had to be the leader of his party—a thing which he probably never contemplated. This meant that he could not do all he wished to do for civil-service reform. But it remains true that he did so much that no fair-minded civil-service reformer doubts to-day that Mr. Cleveland stands as to this reform precisely where he stood in 1884.

4. Mr. Cleveland could be more useful to the people than any other man because his personal position would be stronger than that of any other President since Lincoln; and we all know that all his power and influence and strength will be used absolutely for the people. Public office being with him a public trust, every increase of authority helps the people. Nothing is wasted on personal ambition; nothing on the machinery of the party—all goes directly to the people. This is a part of the change wrought by Mr. Cleveland in our public life. The atmosphere of public life, the air we breathed, was stagnant and unwholesome, and he has made it circulate and filled it with health. He has already helped as no other man has done the substitution of ideas

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for mere habits. He substituted, almost alone, the habit of thinking of the people for the habit of thinking of the party. He has revived patriotism as a constant virtue. Of course, patriotism is not something to be pigeon-holed and brought out only on great occasions. It is something for daily, hourly, and habitual use in all the affairs of life. It is the practical application of this truth that constitutes Cleveland's greatest single service to the nation. His mind and his speech are always filled with the sense of citizenship and with the obligations of patriotism. He is leading the people of his country to be daily patriots.

These are a few of the reasons why I shall vote for Cleveland.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH.

MR. CLAFLIN'S PREFERENCE.

THE trade of the country has adjusted itself to the present tariff; labor is well employed, and the remarkably small number of failures reported for the current year shows that business is uncommonly prosperous. If the Democratic party should be successful next month a low tariff would logically follow; some manufactories would then be closed; many would curtail their production; considerable distress would be felt by the laboring classes, their purchasing power would be decreased, and I cannot doubt that hard times would be upon us; hard times, too, that would not mend quickly.

A low tariff would, for a time at least, be sure to stimulate imports of merchandise and tend to increase exports of gold. The Democratic majority in Congress has repeatedly shown its unsoundness on the currency question; if reinforced by new elections it probably would give fresh cause for alarm to the vast foreign capital invested in the United States, and the menace of a free-silver bill conjoined with the experience of a low tariff might cause exports of gold to a very dangerous extent. I believe Mr. Cleveland would veto a free-silver bill; but a hot contest between him and his party, the majority led by a United States Senator from New York, would disturb the complacence of foreign investors to an unmeasurable degree.

These are evident dangers which might follow Democratic success. Republican success, on the other hand, would assure comparative financial safety. A majority of the Republican legislators can be counted upon to oppose all hazardous financial experiments, and if the Repub-

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lican party be continued in power, there seems every reason to believe that our present national prosperity will increase rather than diminish.

I shall vote for Harrison and Reid. JOHN CLAFLIN.

MR. MCCLURG'S PREFERENCE.

WHILE I cannot suppose that it is of any great importance to the public how I may intend to vote in the coming presidential election, I cannot refuse a request to state the reasons which will govern me in casting my vote for one of the candidates in preference to the other.

The coming election must be regarded by all as one of unusual importance. It used to be said, not many years ago, that there was but little difference between the doctrines, policy, and purposes of the Republican and the Democratic parties. This can no longer be said, for the difference is now radical. At last the platforms of the two parties make clearly defined issues and use language that cannot be misunderstood. The two candidates just as clearly represent the issues which are made in the platforms. Mr. Harrison has long been and still is an ardent supporter of a high protective tariff; he has been and, unless he has greatly changed his opinions, he still is an advocate of what is known as a force bill; he is also in favor of lavish pension legislation, for he signed the dependent pension bill.

Mr. Cleveland, on the contrary, has been the leader of his party to a strong and definite opposition to high protective duties; he is unmistakably against the so-called force legislation; he is opposed to extravagant pension legislation, for in the face of an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress he vetoed a dependent pension bill. These three issues at least are clearly and fairly joined, and they are so important as to call for the careful consideration of every intelligent voter. The course of legislation on these subjects is likely to be fixed not only for the next four years, but probably for many years to come, by the result of this presidential election. The man who believes in high and increasing protective duties, who thinks that more good than ill would come from the enactment of a force bill, and who looks without apprehension on our rapidly increasing pension expenditure, must vote for Mr. Harrison; while the man who believes that our tariff duties are already too high for the interests of the mass of the citizens, who thinks that much evil would come from the interference of the National Government in elections in the separate States, and who believes that the pension laws are already much too lax and

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extravagant, and who would deprecate further reckless progress in the same direction, must as certainly vote for Mr. Cleveland.

These are simple questions of policy, easily understood by common minds, and should be settled by careful and intelligent discussion. It is not a campaign in which there should be need on either side of brass bands, uniformed marching clubs, and Roman candles. What is needed is straightforward discussion and conscientious and fearless voting. While parties are unquestionably useful and necessary in a popular government like ours, they can never be safely trusted as constant mentors and guides of the intelligent voter when new questions of policy force themselves to the front; and assuredly, with such questions before us as those to be settled in the present campaign, this is no time for any man to follow blindly the lead of his party on either side, if that party represents a policy on these vital questions different from that which his judgment approves. The past glories of Democracy have nothing to do with the questions whether we should have higher or lower custom duties or greater or less expenditures for pensions, nor have the noble achievements and the brilliant record of the Republican party in the trying days of the war anything to do with these momentous questions. Let them be settled by the intelligence and conscience of to-day just as the great questions of the past have been settled by the intelligent and conscientious action of the voters of the past.

For myself, while reared in the school of strict protection, I have long believed that the high protective duties of recent years ought to be gradually lowered. The old doctrine of the protectionist was that high duties could and should be reduced when the home industries had become firmly established. To-day that idea seems to be abandoned, and the McKinley bill must be taken as an indication that duties are to be limited only by the abilities of the lobbies of the protected interests to secure further increase. These interests have grown so strong that they are now the greatest menace to the purity of our elections. They are naturally called upon for lavish contributions to campaign funds, on the ground that the party is doing everything for them. When these large contributions have been made and the friendly party is again in power, additional favors in the way of higher protection are demanded of the party and must be granted. And so the reciprocal benefits go on and must go on until a halt is called by the determination of the people, expressed at the polls, that the time has come when duties must decrease instead of increasing.

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It is impossible in a brief paper to go into any extended discussion of the force legislation which came so near being enacted and which Mr. Harrison ardently approved. The evils which it was intended to cure are undoubtedly great, but they are gradually curing themselves. Such troubles under such conditions are inevitable so long as human nature is what it is; and similar troubles would, in my opinion, have occurred in any section of the country under similar conditions. The proposed legislation would be almost certain to aggravate instead of curing the evils, and would be full of danger to the Republic.

It is unquestionably true that many Republicans, as well as Democrats, view with much alarm the recent progress of pension legislation. For myself, I can never think that the man who has lost a leg or an arm or has been otherwise really incapacitated by wounds or sickness incurred in the war of the rebellion is now overpaid by any pension he receives; nor would he be overpaid if that pension were doubled; but the ability even adequately to pension such men is curtailed by the loose, extravagant, and reckless legislation which has enabled hundreds of thousands of men to draw pensions who are in no way entitled to them. The dependent pension bill can be looked upon only as a reckless bid for votes. Its extravagance is condemned by thinking men in both parties and by those who were soldiers as well as by those who were not. It is in its temptations destructive to self-respect and to manhood. It is a bid for the profession of imbecility and for dishonesty. It is an insult to the self-respecting soldier. Think of a bill which has enabled claim agents to send out, as they now do, to those veterans whose chief glory in life it is that they unselfishly and faithfully served their country in the hour of her supreme danger, circulars containing in large, bold, and black type, "Soldiers or officers dishonorably discharged or dismissed from the service can now get pensions." Can disgraceful legislation now go further?

These three issues seem to me the vital ones upon which the intelligent voter must decide his action. So far as the candidates are concerned, they are both thoroughly good men and represent the best elements of their parties. The nomination of each was a victory for the best element of each party, while that of Mr. Cleveland was splendid evidence of the admiration of the masses of a party of bold and rugged honesty and capacity in a party leader. Both candidates are eminently safe on the important subject of silver legislation; and yet I cannot help thinking that Mr. Cleveland in the presidential chair will have far more influence in guiding legislation on this sub-

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ject than Mr. Harrison, for Mr. Cleveland has shown himself to be an unusual leader and moulder of men.

After this detailed statement it is scarcely necessary for me to say that I look forward hopefully to the election of Mr. Cleveland, and shall not only vote for him but will do all a private individual can to secure his election. ALEXANDER C. MCCLURG.

MR. SWING'S PREFERENCE.

I WOULD express here my intention to vote for Mr. Harrison. The pleasure of casting such a vote will be much lessened by the fact that he is a candidate for a second term. When many noble men ought to be honored by a call to that one high office, it does not seem generous in Mr. Harrison or Mr. Cleveland to ask an *encore* from their country.

In voting for Mr. Harrison I shall not be oppressed by the feeling that the nation will be ruined should Mr. Cleveland be elected. To very many Republicans he seems a man of honesty and ability. Nor shall I be elated by the notion that the Republican party, if successful in November, will usher in the long-expected golden age.

Mr. Harrison possesses personal merit, ability, and integrity, and to these virtues he adds the merit of entire faithfulness to that party which has always seemed the friend of mankind. The progress of wisdom resulted many years ago in the creation of a Whig party. In England it brought about the abolition of the slave-trade, it set free the Catholics, and repealed the corn laws. It supplied with great truth such men as Burke and Fox, and, making at last our Republic, it has supplied it with a long line of statesmen, orators, and soldiers. It has written down in history many names between those of Edmund Burke and Abraham Lincoln.

It adds to the claim of Mr. Harrison that his party stood firmly by these great truths in all those years of peril which ended in 1865, and that when those great world-wide ideas culminated in war he offered his own life to the peril of battle. He comes as a "plumed knight" in a vivid realism, and thus wins the vote of many a man who has developed that acumen which can distinguish the plumed cap of a soldier from the silk hat of a gentleman.

The tariff and free trade do not with me figure in the pending case. Both the great parties are bound to the practice of the protective doctrine. The nation ought to have begun its career with free

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trade, but now that it has created artificially a group of powerful industries and almost a group of States, it is bound to keep active the philosophy that gave these objects being. It will cost less to go on than to retreat. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cleveland seem fully committed to this past policy. The manufacturing regions are too populous and too rich to be esteemed lightly by the Democrats of 1892 or 1896.

The apathy which the Republican party has shown toward the African citizens in the South forbids us all from confounding its statesmen with any of the ideal thinkers and actors who figure in old or recent history. The indifference and composure at Washington have fully equalled all the wrongs done the Negro for twenty-five years. No bold effort has been made to secure for the Negro "a republican form of government." Meanwhile the Republicans have spent money with a lavishness which would have amazed Washington and Hamilton; still, we must keep on voting and voting for the Republicans in a time when no modern possesses imagination enough to paint the Democrats as falling in love with "Jim Crow" or as reaching any delicacy as to the wasting of the national money. Not to vote at all is foolish and perhaps wicked. It remains for each voter to seek out carefully the lesser of two imperfections.

The thoughtful men of the country are pleased with the dignified character of the campaign. There is a wonderful absence of noise and of abusive editorial and abusive stump-speaking. It is quietly assumed that the candidates for the high office are honorable men, and it is also well known that the vast brotherhood of States is fully pledged to a nationality, industry, and a general progress which do not depend upon the outcome of November. DAVID SWING.

MR. CANNON'S PREFERENCE.

I SHALL vote for Benjamin Harrison for President because, as the candidate of the Republican party, he represents the principles upon which the best form of government for this country is based, viz., reasonable protection to American industries, which insures equitable return for all labor; a sound currency which is redeemable at all times in coin on demand; national supervision when necessary for the public good; reciprocity in dealing with other nations; a foreign policy that commands respect and maintains the peace; encouragement of our commerce with foreign nations, and, generally, a policy of progress and action.

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I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because he is a representative American by birth and education and thoroughly American in his principles and actions. His record in the National Legislature is consistent and above reproach. At a time when our Government was threatened with dissolution he personally fought for our flag and to maintain the Union.

I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because his record as President of the United States is clean, honest, and most capable, and I believe that he will do everything in his power as an earnest, conscientious man to enforce the laws of this country and use his best endeavors to promote the welfare of all its people.

I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because the country would gain nothing whatever by the election of the opposing candidate and his election would unsettle business and values. The platform of the Democratic party and the utterances of its candidate give no assurance that, if elected, any possible gain would accrue to the country from the change or from the policy proposed. H. W. CANNON.

MR. FIELD'S PREFERENCE.

THE editor of the FORUM has asked for the reasons of my choice between the candidates of the two principal parties in the forthcoming presidential election, which is as much as to ask whom I will vote for and why. I answer that I shall vote for Mr. Cleveland, and these are my reasons.

I assume that the two candidates and the two parties are equally sincere and patriotic, and my choice is determined by the policy which each represents. In my view, Mr. Harrison represents paternal government, Mr. Cleveland constitutional government; Mr. Harrison industrial monopoly, Mr. Cleveland industrial freedom; Mr. Harrison holds, or his party hold for him, that the Government should take care of the people; Mr. Cleveland holds, and his party hold, that the people should take care of themselves and of their Government. Of course there are citizens in each party who do not agree to the theory to which the party is committed, but the leaders and the majority of their followers do believe it, or act as if they believed it.

In support of these definitions I take for example (and there needs but one) the McKinley Act, the latest and most defiant venture of monopoly that the country has ever witnessed. It begins with a deceptive title: "An act to *reduce* the revenue and *equalize* duties on

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imports, and for other purposes." (The italics are mine.) These ends were to be attained by free trade in certain imports which the monopolists did not care for and excessive taxation on others that they did care for, and as to *equalizing* duties on imports, that was a false pretence, as the act fairly bristled with inequalities. The people repudiated the scheme, at their first opportunity, by returning to the House of Representatives 236 Democrats against 76 Republicans. The Republicans profess to think that the American people are so fickle as to reverse this majority now. We shall see.

In constitutional governments the first question on a pending measure is whether it is constitutional; the second whether if constitutional it is wise. The power is contained in these words: "*The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, but all taxes, duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.*" Three or four other clauses are sometimes mentioned in connection with this, but I think it is generally agreed among judges and lawyers that the question involved in the McKinley Act depends upon the words I have quoted. Now, the Democrats contend that these words give Congress authority to lay taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue, in order to meet the expenses of the Government. The Republicans contend that they authorize the taxes and other burdens to be laid in order to lessen or prevent the importation or production of the articles charged, that is to say, that there may be a tax in name in order to prevent a tax in fact. There is no parallel to this contention, so far as I know, except the answer of Talleyrand to the question, "What is non-intervention?" "Non-intervention," he answered, "non-intervention is much the same as intervention."

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the power to lay taxes is a power to lay them with a view to defeat their collection, I pass first to what may be called the historical argument. Let us ask ourselves, What have been heretofore the theory and practice of this nation? The founders of our institutions established free trade between the States. Was that a good thing or a bad thing, considered merely as a question of political economy? There were no doubt other considerations also taken into account upon determining the conditions of federal union, but as to this one, did it tend to make us richer or poorer? Imagine what might have happened if industrial freedom between the States had not been assured by the organic act.

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Some McKinley of our State and age might have arisen to contend for New York industries against the industries of Pennsylvania. "See now," he would have said, "let us tax the coal and oil of our sister State, and thus pay the expenses of our State government, build our court-houses and our roads." Pennsylvania would of course have done the same by New York, and so the good work of mutual taxation and beneficence would have gone on through all the States. The ideal of the founders of our Union appears to have been absolute free trade between all our Commonwealths, with taxation and excise nevertheless, to pay the common expenses of all. Even so Rhode Island held out to the last against the Union because of its free trade, and the plucky little State stands now for monopoly by natural inheritance. Was it ever heard of before, that the principal object of a tax was to drain the sources of taxation? In the early history of the country, and in order to sustain an infant industry, a tax or impost was sometimes so adjusted that while yielding revenue as its chief object, it offered a moderate industrial protection against competition from abroad. But the difference is as wide as the poles between taxation as chief purpose with incidental protection and protection as chief purpose with incidental taxation.

What is the true theory of American government in general and of our Federal Government in particular? The great object is to keep the peace between man and man, State and State, defend each when attacked, leave each to the pursuit of happiness as most desired, prevent warring tariffs, maintain those public works to which the power of the individual is unequal, and care for those feebler members in whose behalf public relief is a public duty.

What is a tax? What did Dr. Johnson mean by it when he published his pamphlet against the American colonies, "Taxation no Tyranny"? What did our great forefathers mean by it when they took up arms against England in defence of their principle, "No taxation without representation"? A tax is an enforced contribution in money or kind to a public fund. That is its primal significance and so it is understood wherever our mother tongue is spoken.

For a sharp contrast between the professions and the acts, take the arguments of the advocates for McKinley protection. It will make foreigners pay our taxes, they say. It is amazing that so intelligent a person as the Governor of Ohio does not know that the consumer, not the producer, pays the taxes. But suppose it were the producer: how about the American who ships our products to the

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other side of the sea? If the German pays our American taxes when he comes here, does not the American pay the German taxes when he goes there? Still more, where would be the honesty of compelling the foreigner to pay our debts if we could? Still another argument of our Republican brethren is that the tariff benefits the American at the expense of the foreigner; for what else can this expression mean as it was used at the late Republican presidential convention: "We go for the American man, for the American woman and the American child"? So do we all; but do we go for their good at the cost of evil to others? The Australian goes for the Australian man, woman, and child The Chinese and the Japanese are ahead of us in the game of isolation and exclusiveness. Japan would have none of us until the guns of Perry's fleet opened the gates of the inland sea, upon the demand, as of right, that no nation can justly isolate itself; and the people of the "central flowery land" to this day call us "outside barbarians." Even Arabi Pasha, before the bombardment of Alexandria, took for his motto: "Egypt for the Egyptians." We proclaim with our lips "peace on earth, good-will to men," we boast of human brotherhood, and we have been foremost in demanding free intercourse with the rest of the world; but we have enacted the most antisocial law ever enacted by a Christian people—an act of hostility against the whole human race except ourselves.

The McKinley Act is indeed an act of war. There may be a war not of battles and bombardments, but of peaceable hostilities. If one nation cuts off the supplies of another nation or seeks to divert the industry of another to itself, it acts an un-Christian part in the intercourse of men. The newspapers have told the story of an Austrian village whose special industry was the manufacture of pearl buttons, an industry broken up and the workmen brought to despair by our new decree of commercial hostility. The existence of this village may not have been even known to the statesmen who enacted our law, but the motive and the effect were the same as if they had known it. They could not march an army to the Carpathians and transport this village with all its people bodily from the banks of the Danube to the banks of the Monongahela, but they could accomplish the same end by votes in the Capitol at Washington. Was the act any more humane in the one case than in the other? Even the President in accepting a renomination felicitated his party in driving Welsh miners over to us. I hope they were not of the kind that made Tennessee howl with murderers and liberated convicts, or those who proved too

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strong for the young State of Idaho and obliged the President to send Federal troops to quell them. In these latter days our Republican newspapers have been chuckling over the news that the Saltaire workmen in England have been obliged to take refuge in America.

A paternal government is one which pretends to take care of its people. There are two such governments in Europe: one enthroned at Moscow, whose sovereign calls himself the father and the millions who dwell between the Gulf of Finland and the Behring Sea his children; the other sits at the Bosporus and calls himself the "Commander of the Faithful" over all who live eastward to the walls of Bagdad. Who are *our* fathers? Are they the three hundred and seventy-four gentlemen who meet yearly in the wings of the Capitol? Are we their children?

These are reasons, sufficient as I deem them, why I mean to cast my vote with the Democratic party in November. I am in favor of a tariff for revenue and nothing else; I am against monopoly, however disguised as protection; I am against paternal government, except in the family home; I am for the greatest liberty compatible with social order; I prefer the reciprocity of the counting-room to the reciprocity of the State Department; I would trust the trading merchant rather than the trading politician; I would welcome ships and their cargoes from all lands, coming not through the allurements of bounties, but the free competition of merchants seeking to exchange the products of our domain for theirs, whether these be for our necessities, our comforts, or our luxuries, tea from China, coffee from Brazil, silks from France, cinnamon from the groves of Ceylon, or from Zanzibar tusks of ivory.

Some of our Republican friends contend that the return to a revenue tariff will disturb existing establishments. That is the old cry of vested interests in defence of existing abuses. The American people may be safely trusted not to do a new wrong in suppressing an old one. They will make changes with moderation and justice.

There are two other questions which would determine my vote if the overshadowing McKinley Act were out of the way. One is the Force Bill and the other the taxation of State banks. Nobody struggled harder than I, within the limits of my ability, for the emancipation of the slaves. That was a sublime act of humanity. But giving them the suffrage was a different thing, and in my judgment was a crime against civilization. The suffrage is the symbol and weapon of sovereignty. To bestow it is to make the receivers rulers over us to the extent of their numbers. I contended as best I could for the

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enfranchisement, never for the enthronement of the Negroes. It stands for an everlasting reproach to the statesmanship of the Republican party that it could find no better way for the defence of emancipated slaves than to make them partakers in the government of our country; joint rulers in our proud household. But we have them here, partners in sovereignty. What is to be done now? Nothing. Let the problem alone, until in the workings of an inscrutable Providence some way be made clear for our deliverance. To deal with it now is to pander to demagogues and stir up strife, of which he must be a very wise man who can foresee the end.

As to the taxation of the State banks, the all-sufficient objection to it is that it is a scheme not to build up, but to destroy. It is a perversion of the taxing power to purposes of which it is not conceivable that the founders of the Republic ever dreamed. There is a maxim of logic, universal and inexorable, that a proposition which proves too much proves nothing. Applying this maxim to the question of taxation, we cannot but see that extending the power of taxation to any other purpose than that of raising revenue is to make it omnipotent. It would be useless to talk of limited government or of restraining the legislature by any bonds whatever, if it may tax to any extent it pleases, for any purpose whatever, to raise money or to prevent money from being raised, to stimulate an industry or to extinguish it. Many of the State banks were undoubtedly nuisances. Our national banks as issuers of credits are vastly to be preferred. But there is a surer way of promoting the one and preventing the other than the way of taxation. To do evil that good may come is always dangerous and always wrong. The State banks should never have been allowed to issue notes for circulation as money. We see now how much better it would have been to hold, as many of the thoughtful men of the time did, that the prohibition upon the States to "emit bills of credit" prohibited not only the emission of bank-notes by the States themselves, but by their agents—the banks which they created. That step, however wrong as it now appears, has been taken, and perhaps cannot be retraced. But surely the skill of our financiers can devise a means of restraining State banks by Federal interference, if need be, safer and therefore wiser than by stretching the Constitution beyond the limits of its just interpretation.

The reasons I have given are my own. Nobody else is responsible for them, nobody has prompted them. I express them solely because they are mine.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

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WRITERS FOR THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (*Municipal Institutions in England and America*), born in 1836, was educated at University College School, London. He was Mayor of Birmingham in 1873–76, and in 1876 he entered Parliament. He was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in 1880–86. In 1886 he broke with Mr. Gladstone on the question of Home Rule and became the leader of the new party of Liberal-Unionists.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (*Lessons from the Experience of Quincy, Mass.*), born in Boston, 1835, was graduated at Harvard in 1856 and admitted to the bar in 1858. He won the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers for his services in the Civil War. He has since devoted himself chiefly to railway interests. In 1869 he was made a member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts, and in 1884 he was elected president of the Union Pacific. He has published several books.

DR. J. M. RICE (*Our Public-School System: the Schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course in Psychology and Pedagogy at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has this year visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

SIR THOMAS HENRY FARRER, Bart. (*English Views of the McKinley Tariff*), born in London in 1819, was educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. He was called to the bar in 1844 and became a member of the English Board of Trade in 1850. In 1883 he was created a baronet. He has written "Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade," published by the Cobden Club; "The State in its Relation to Trade," and other economic works.

LORD MASHAM (*Has England Profited by Free Trade?*), born about 1814, is better known as Samuel Cauliffe Lister. He was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom last year. He is the founder of the celebrated Manningham Mills of Bradford, the largest textile manufactory in the kingdom. During the past twelve years he has taken the lead in the Fair-Trade movement in England. He was one of the founders of the Fair-Trade League.

MME. HELENA MODJESKA (*Endowed Theatres and the American Stage*), born in Cracow, Poland, at an early age became one of the leading players of the country. After winning a high position in her profession in Europe, she came to the United States in 1876 and made her home in California. She is a scholar of the drama as well as a great artist.

MISS JANE ADDAMS (*A New Impulse to an Old Gospel*), daughter of Hon. John H. Addams, for many years State Senator from Northern Illinois, has since her graduation at Rockford College, Ill., in 1881, been a trustee of the institution. In 1889, with Miss Ellen G. Starr, she opened Hull House.

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PROF. EDWARD S. HOLDEN (*What We Really Know About Mars*), born in St. Louis in 1846, was graduated at the Scientific School of Washington University in 1866 and in 1870 at the United States Military Academy. In 1886 he was made President of the University of California and Director of the Lick Observatory on Mt. Hamilton, San José.

MR. AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD (*The Library of the United States*), born in 1825, became in 1861 first Assistant-Librarian of Congress at Washington, and three years later Librarian. His able administration of affairs of the library for more than a quarter of a century has made for him a wide reputation. He is a member of many historical and philosophical societies.

PROF. ROBERT MEANS DAVIS (*The Matter with the Small Farmer*), born in South Carolina in 1849, was elected in 1882 to the chair of History and Political Science in the reorganized South Carolina College, which he still holds. He has written frequently on political and economic subjects.

MR. HENRY WHITE CANNON (*For Whom I Shall Vote and Why*) was born at Delhi, N. Y., in 1850, and in 1884 was appointed Comptroller of the Currency. He resigned in 1886 to re-enter a bank in New York. He is president of the Chase National Bank.

MR. FRANKLIN MACVEAGH is the head of the large mercantile establishment in Chicago of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., wholesale grocers, and a man of public spirit and independent mind.

MR. JOHN CLAFLIN, born in Brooklyn in 1850, was graduated at the College of the City of New York in 1869, entered business in 1870, and is now president of the H. B. Claflin Company, a great mercantile corporation in New York.

GENERAL A. C. MCCLURG is the head of the publishing and book-selling firm in Chicago of A. C. McClurg & Co.

MR. JAMES SCHOULER, born in West Cambridge, Mass., in 1839, was graduated at Harvard in 1859, studied law, practised his profession in Boston, and since 1884 has lectured in the Boston University Law School and in the National Law School at Washington. He is best known as the author of a "History of the United States of America under the Constitution."

THE REV. DAVID SWING, born in Cincinnati in 1830, was Professor of Languages in Miami University for twelve years. In 1866 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Chicago. He was tried for heresy in 1874, was acquitted, and he then withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He is now independent of denominational relations.

MR. JACOB H. SCHIFF is a member of the well-known New York banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and one of the most prominent bankers in New York.

HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, born in 1805, was admitted to the bar in 1828. He is one of the most eminent living authorities on law. He has received several appointments for the work of law-reform, among them one in 1857 to prepare a political, penal, and civil code for the State of New York. In 1873 he prepared for the Social Science Congress "Outlines of an International Code." This led to the formation of an association for a revision of the law of nations, and Mr. Field became its first president.

NOTE.—When invitations were sent to these gentlemen to express through the FORUM their preference for a Presidential candidate, it was not known for which candidate they would vote. The effort was to obtain expressions of opinion from representative men outside the range of active politics.

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